Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-90-142 *24 Jul 1990*

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Forum of Central, East Europeans Held in Warsaw

Postcommunist Integration Aim

*LD2207170590 Warsaw PAP in English
1636 GMT 22 Jul 90*

[Text] Warsaw, 22 Jul—A two-day international conference attended, among others, by representatives of Lithuania, Romania, Hungary and Poland started here today with a view to setting up a Forum of Central and Eastern Europe.

The forum is meant as the first institution to group representatives of the parliaments in this region and to aim to integrating all nations from the post-communist countries. The major assumption of the forum is the sense of community of fates and interests of all countries and nations in Central and Eastern Europe.

The final formula of the movement will depend on a stand of all sides interested in its formation, underlined secretary general of the World Emigrant Council for Central and Eastern Europe, vicechairman of Canadian Poles Andrew Kawczak.

According to Senate Deputy Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski it should be a task of the forum to initiate joint projects (like, for instance, the idea for setting up a joint university, discussed during the Bratislava meeting).

A political role of the forum is an important thing too, said Lithuanian deputy Vytautas Pleckaitis and suggested that it should support Lithuanian struggle for independence and inviolability of borders of the Baltic republics.

Economic cooperation is also among tasks of the forum.

On Sunday [22 July] members of the conference met with the board of the Polish Republican Club, an organization which promotes business development.

'Coordinative Council' Established

*LD2307195290 Warsaw PAP in English
1856 GMT 23 Jul 90*

[Text] Warsaw, 23 Jul—Participants in a two-day international conference which wound up in Warsaw today set up a provisional Coordinative Council of the Central-East Europe Forum.

The participants from Poland, Latvia, Romania and Hungary obliged the Council to prepare an organizational meeting and a general assembly of the forum delegates.

The forum is a civil and parliamentary movement for agreement and cooperation between the nations and states of Central-East Europe, read a declaration issued by the conference. The organization will strive to build solidarity and tolerance among the nations of the whole region and to overcome local antagonisms and conflicts. The participants in the conference also issued several statements, among them one supporting the right of the Baltic states and Ukraine to self-determination and addressed the parliamentarians of this region of Europe to set up a parliamentary group attached to the forum. They also appealed to young people to take part in a meeting with the pope in August, 1991.

CSFR Deputy Minister on Pact 'Differences'

*LD1807133990 Prague Domestic Service
in Slovak 1300 GMT 18 Jul 90*

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minster Lubos Dobrovsky, speaking at a news conference in Prague on 18 July, briefed journalists, among other things, on the results of deliberations of Warsaw Pact member country representatives on its transformation. Czechoslovakia, he said, has proposed to gradually abolish the Warsaw Pacts' military structures and to strengthen its role in disarmament. It has spoken in favor of the positive elements of the grouping to be preserved for some time, so that it does not cease to exist because member states start to leave, but only when its existence ceases to have a purpose.

In the course of deliberations, all parties displayed a constructive attitude and spoke in favor of the Warsaw Pact's transformation in harmony with the Helsinki process.

Above all, the stand of Hungary and also that of the Soviet Union are close to the Czechoslovak stand. There have of course been very considerable differences voiced on what to do next. Therefore, from the proposed final document, only a small part has been completely approved.

More on Government Decree Urging Law, Order

AU2307141690 Sofia BTA in English
1216 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—The Council of Ministers obliges by decree the local bodies of power here and in this country and the law-enforcement units to adopt immediate measures and stop the manifestations of civil disobedience, the sit-in strikes and other infringements of legal order.

The Government proposes to the Grand National Assembly leadership and the major political forces to discuss immediately the situation which has originated in this country and propose parliament decisions and measures for its calming down and observation of law and public order.

The decree reads that the Government accepts as justified the demands of organizations and collectives for efficient counteraction of the state authorities against the manifestations and infringements of public order, which hamper normal life and the functioning of vital state institutions and violate the rights and freedoms of the citizens.

'Strict Application' of Law Promised

AU2307141990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Colonel Dincho Ivanov, spokesman of the Militia Directorate, has just announced over the telephone what measures are expected to be adopted by the law and order organs in connection with the latest Council of Ministers decree:

[Begin Ivanov recording] The Militia Directorate, being the executive organ of state power, is taking the necessary measures to ensure the strict application of the decree.

The directorate will make every effort to carry out the instructions of the municipal people's councils.

All measures based on the country's laws shall be applied against malicious violators of public order.

In fulfilling their duties the militia forces will rely on the active cooperation of the political forces, the citizens, and all our public. [end recording]

'City of Truth' Reacts

AU2307194990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] We just received a statement from the Movement in the Name of Truth related to Decree No. 78 of the Council of Ministers on urgent measures to guarantee public order and peace in the country.

I shall cite part of the statement. According to this statement, the government claims to base its tasks and obligations on the declaration of the Grand National Assembly of 20 July 1990.

In this regard, we declare the following: In voting on the aforementioned declaration, the Grand National Assembly was misinformed by the assurances of the National Assembly Presidium, by the minister of internal affairs and the prime minister, who claimed that the law and order organs would not be used for repressive measures against citizens' protest actions.

After several deputies from the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] expressed some misgivings, it was expressly declared that the declaration of the Grand National Assembly would not involve any actions against the City of Truth and that its petition would be examined at a special session.

In taking advantage of the Grand National Assembly declaration, the Council of Ministers is trying to suppress the political actions of citizens which is in contradiction with the law.

We remind everyone of the fact that the Law on Meetings, Rallies, and Demonstrations contains special regulations which expressly permit such actions and that the activities of the City of Truth comply with the instructions of the Sofia City Council.

All valid laws should be observed in Bulgaria, and when they are violated, it is the rule to point out which laws have been violated and to cite their text. Unfortunately, the decree of the Council of Ministers, which is an important government document, does not contain such indications—the statement of the Movement in the Name of Truth says.

The statement further reads: We would like to point out that the government decree refers to the unrest caused by nationality, ethnic, problems. The ideas of the cities of truth have nothing in common with this kind of unrest. The demands of the citizens of truth are of nationwide significance and are based on the principles of a moral code which applies to all citizens.

It should be clearly understood that the appeal of the National Assembly is a sensible call for civic peace. It is an alarming fact that in these days of trouble for our country the Council of Ministers issues a political document, deprived of all legal foundations.

Protests Continue 'Despite' Decree

AU2307191890 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—Despite the Decree of the Government according to which the law enforcement units are authorized to take measures against all forms of civil disobedience (which they have not done yet), the strikes, protest drives and rallies are going on in the country.

"The towns of truth" the tents put up in front of the presidency and before state institutions in the provinces, are still in their place. The "inhabitants" of the town of truth in Varna state that the government's decree is illegal because it has not been passed at the Bulgarian Parliament. It is an attempt to manipulate the public, it is an act of exerting psychological violence over the strikers, they state.

At the initiative of the committee for civil disobedience in Varna signatures are been collected under a petition in which it is insisted that the parliamentary group of the Socialists should withdraw the candidature of their nominee for president.

Today by noon the town and the interurban transport was paralyzed in Shumen and the Sofia-Varna express train was detained for one hour. In some enterprises in the town a relay hunger strike was declared.

In Kurdzhali, which is inhabited mainly by ethnic Turks, the token strike will grow into an effective one again if the grand national assembly does not adopt concrete decisions on the declarations presented by the Committee for the Protection of National Interests in connection with the ethnic problem by July 27.

After a short hush the effective strike in Razgrad is in full sway again. This town is also inhabited by a lot of Turks. According to a member of the regional committee for the protection of national interests the discontent in the town made the national representatives reluctant to meet the strikers. The transport has been paralyzed once more, but most of the shops which were closed until recently are open now. The local leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces came out with a declaration in which the strike is defined as "an unreasonable campaign". An appeal is made to the regional committee for the protection of national interests, to the Fatherland Labor Party and to Akhmed Dogan's movement for Rights and Freedoms to ensure "a peaceful and constructive atmosphere" for the work of the Grand National Assembly.

Many enterprises are ready to go on strike in Khaskovo. Today the local committee for the protection of national interests convened a rally for "a Bulgarian Parliament". The protests will go on until the Grand National Assembly shows in deed that the settlement of the ethnic problem is a priority. A national representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party underlined that he and the other national representatives of the Bulgarian Socialist Party will insist that the unity and the indivisibility of the Bulgarian nation and the Bulgarian state be guaranteed by the new constitution.

The In the Name of Truth Movement which unites all towns of truth in the country came out with a declaration today in which the government is accused of taking unfair advantage of the address of the Grand National Assembly made at the end of last week and of wanting to "suppress the political actions which do not run counter to law".

"Our protest has nothing to do with the nationalistic drives in some regions of the country against which the parliament declared itself to be," it is said in the declaration. The government involves itself with a political declaration without having any juridical grounds for it, thus serving the forces which are interested in the preservation of the totalitarian regime, it is said in the declaration.

The Bulgarian Green Party is also "bewildered" by the decree of the Council of Ministers. It is underlined that the peaceful transition to democracy does not rule out the peaceful forms of protest, resentment and opposition to different actions or inaction on the part of the administration.

Declaring that Bulgaria is on the verge of a third catastrophe, the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) declared today that it was going to set up a "civil court by which those culpable for the catastrophe who are still ruling the country will be tried". The ASP called upon all Bulgarian administrators to give in immediately their resignations, succumbing to the requirements of simple human morality.

BSP Supreme Council Appeals for 'Civil Peace'

AU2307143990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 19 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] In connection with the growing tensions and the exacerbation of the situation in the towns of Kurdzhali, Khaskovo, Razgrad, and Aytos, the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] issues the following earnest appeal:

—All Bulgarian citizens, regardless of their political, ethnic, and other differences, should immediately desist from all actions which harm civil peace, the unity of the people, and the laws of the country.

—We must all be filled with awareness of the need not to encourage or conduct any actions which may deepen the economic crisis, destroy the people's unity, or create an abnormal public atmosphere, especially now, when the Grand National Assembly—the supreme organ in which the country's problems will be resolved—has started its work.

The Supreme Party Council once again declares that it stands for strict observance of the Constitution, the laws of the country, and the National Assembly's declaration of 15 January 1990, and will firmly defend them in the Grand National Assembly. These documents do not permit the creation of parties and political organizations on a religious or ethnic basis, or any actions which might encroach upon the unity of the people and the country's territorial integrity.

We stress again that what is needed today is national reconciliation, concord, and the unity of the entire nation, accompanied by strict and consistent observance of the citizens' basic rights and liberties established by

the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and by the fulfillment of the country's obligations arising from international treaties and agreements.

The Grand National Assembly is the place where all burning issues should be resolved.

Bearing in mind the demands put forward in the declaration of the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, we once again address an appeal to all to display sensible civic conduct and maintain law and order in the country.

Our only chance for defusing the situation and finding generally acceptable wise solutions is to respect the law and create a climate of civil calm, constructive work, and trust. It is a matter of honest and true patriotism for us to pave the way for this. Any illegal act, any lack of respect for the interests of all the citizens of Bulgaria cannot be permitted and must be stopped.

A yardstick of our sense of civic duty is the extent to which we observe the country's Constitution and create conditions to enable the Grand National Assembly to work normally in order to resolve the important and urgent problems of all of us, and of Bulgaria in general.

We hope that the Grand National Assembly will prove equal to the tasks which it has to solve, and will provide an example of precise observance of the country's Constitution and laws.

What we need is calm, trust, order, and stability.
The Presidium of the Supreme Party Council.

'Civil Disobedience' Rally Reported in Khaskovo

AU2307142790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] As Vladimir Belchev, our Khaskovo correspondent, reports by telex, a rally organized by the Municipal Committee for the Defense of National Interests and the Civil Disobedience Committee, was held in this town today.

Strikers and representatives of strike committees met National Assembly deputies from the area. They submitted a declaration to the deputies with the request that it should be read at one of the next National Assembly sessions.

The declaration states that the failure to observe the National Assembly Declaration of 16 January 1990 and the loss of confidence are the causes for tension in Khaskovo and in the area.

Today, the collectives of several enterprises are on strike. The deliveries of foodstuffs to the capital have not been resumed in order to make the Sofia population support the demands of the Pripek Village population.

It was decided to continue the sit-in in front of the Oblast People's Council building in Khaskovo, as long as the council has not convened an extraordinary session to solve the crucial problems of the nationality question.

Over 7,500 signatures and considerable financial assistance was collected for the benefit of the Pripek villagers. The strike committees decided to halt the strikes in Khaskovo, while the workers should be permanently prepared to strike.

Independent TU Confederation Threatens Strike

AU2407081690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 20 Jul 90 p 1

["Text" of "decision of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation Coordination Council" adopted at plenary session in Sofia on 19 July]

[Text] At yesterday's session, the Coordination Council of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation adopted the following decision:

1. The Coordination Council approves the memorandum adopted by the Independent Trade Unions Confederation Executive Committee and approves the activities of the National Strike Committee up to 19 July 1990.

2. The Coordination Council entrusts the Strike Committee with the task of declaring their readiness to strike and of engaging in symbolic and warning strike activities if the memorandum is not answered by 23 July 1990.

3. The Coordination Council entrusts the Executive Committee of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation to cooperate with the political forces and with the organs appointed by the Grand National Assembly.

4. In case of necessity, the financial resources of the National Strike Fund should be used in accordance with the decision of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation's Executive Committee.

5. The federal, branch, and territorial Strike Committees are requested strictly to coordinate their actions with the memorandum and not to take any actions without the decision of the National Strike Committee.

The next session of the Coordination Council is expected to take place in the building of the confederation on 24 July 1990, at 1100 local time.

Podkrepa TU Rejects Memorandum

AU2407135090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] This afternoon a group of representatives from the petrochemical workers union, which is a member of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation in Burgas, came to our offices. The leaders of the group was Ivan Naydenov, the spokesman of the trade union at the Burgas Petrochemical Combine. They brought a declaration which reads as follows:

The trade union will not support the political demands contained in the Memorandum of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation in Bulgaria, because it considers the memorandum to be a political manipulation which is not appropriate for trade union activity.

Regarding the social and financial demands contained in the memorandum, the Petrochemical Workers Trade Union, under the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, is preparing its own package of claims based on the problems raised some time ago at rallies, in petitions and declarations, which are of concern to the Burgas petrochemical workers.

Reaction to Gasoline Price Increases, Shortages

Shortages 'Expected To Remain'

AU2307111690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpts] We awoke this morning to find that gasoline prices had risen sharply. We expected prices to go up, but not by so much. [passage omitted]

Despite this increase, the queues at some gasoline stations remain just as long. Moreover, gasoline is expected to remain in short supply during the next few days. Our Burgas correspondent reports that two of the plants at the Burgas Petrochemical Combine have been shut down because of lack of feedstock. A tanker with 50,000 tonnes is expected to arrive from Odessa tomorrow morning. Another two tankers are currently in the area of the Persian Gulf and are only expected to arrive in Burgas at the end of the month. The rate of fulfillment of the supplies from the Soviet Union has led to 200,000 tonnes of gasoline less being produced than in the same period of last year. [passage omitted]

Production Not at Full Capacity

AU2307192790 Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—Despite the rise in the price of petrol the lines in front of the petrol stations are still long. The cause is that the quantity of the oil supplied to the petrochemical works in Burgas is small and the works cannot operate at its full capacity. For example today not a single liter of petrol was made. A 50-thousand-ton Soviet tanker is expected to start discharging oil tomorrow, but the supplied quantity will be processed in three or four days and then there will be a gap in the production process. At best the gap could be filled in at the beginning of August when two Bulgarian ships which are in the Red Sea now are expected to arrive. But this quantity is too small to make it possible to restore the normal production rhythm in the petrochemical works. Up to now the main supplier the Soviet Union, has failed to supply more than 200 thousand tons of crude oil. If until recently the works operated at 50 percent of its capacity, now two of the production lines have been absolutely idle for two days now. The Bulgarian KHIMIMPORT and the Soviet SOYUZNEFTEKSPORT have an operative contract, but it is not fulfilled. The problem goes beyond the framework of the usual company-to-company relations and could be settled only on a governmental level.

Lukanov Calls Shortage 'Surprise'

AU2307204290 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—This is the result of the liberalization of the Bulgarian economy and of its integration with the world economy, Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stated at a news conference today in connection with the rise of petrol prices which is almost 100 percent.

According to Mr Lukanov, the present petrol crisis in Bulgaria has taken the government by surprise and it has no other way to tackle the difficult situation. He expressed the hope that in the future the government may have to rise the prices by decrees more and more rarely because they are expected to be regulated by the market in a natural way.

The cause for the petrol crisis in Bulgaria in the last weeks is the non-fulfillment of the contracts concluded with Soviet companies which have failed to supply more than 200 thousand tons of crude oil since the beginning of the year.

Today the prices of private-owned taxis soared by 100 percent. For the time being the prices of state-owned taxis, which are much less in number, remain unchanged.

The decision is a legitimate one, because it was made in fulfillment of the governmental program for the liberalization of the prices of 40 percent of all goods and services before the end of this year. The petrol prices are adjusted to the conditions prevailing on the market in a situation of disbalance, Mr Vasil Pekhlivanov of the Committee for Prices with the Council of Ministers said on television tonight. He did not answer the question why people had not been warned about the enormous rise in prices, nor did he answer the question why prices had not been raised before the parliamentary elections.

In an interview given on the phone Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov stated that the population get compensation through indexing wages in the next months. This week will probably be the last in the rule of the government of the Bulgarian Socialist Party headed by him, because after electing Bulgaria's president, the Grand National Assembly will have to elect a new government, too.

Text of Zhikov's Letter to National Assembly

AU2307143690 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Jul 90 p 1

["Text" of "appeal to the Grand National Assembly" by Todor Zhivkov, read by Rumen Vodenicharov, member

of the Union of Democratic Forces, at the sitting of the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 18 July]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies:

I submit two petitions to you, which arise from the arbitrary actions practiced against me for several months by the chief prosecutor, as well as the actions of those who stand above him and are stage-managing the investigation:

First, I request the Grand National Assembly to stop the arbitrary actions against Todor Zhivkov and his family;

Second, I request, if possible, for me to be provided with a personal bodyguard until my great-grandchild is born in October 1990. After I have seen my great-grandchild, I will renounce any claims to a bodyguard and to any other care shown toward me of the kind which civilized countries show toward people who have been in my official position.

I am ready to tell the truth, both about the time during which I worked, and about my own activities, to the Bulgarian people, of whom I form an inalienable part.

Zhivkov Granted Security Guards

AU2307183690 Sofia BTA in English
1555 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—The National Department for the Protection of the Constitution has announced that the necessary measures were taken to guarantee the safety of Mr Todor Zhivkov who is investigated by the prosecuting magistracy and is under house arrest.

The wish expressed by Mr Zhivkov in his letter of declaration sent to the Grand National Assembly and the opinions stated by the national representatives who took the floor in this connection were taken into account. In his declaration Mr Zhivkov asked for body- guards until November this year when his granddaughter, Evgenia, is expected to bear a child.

Dimitrov Funeral Ceremonies Following Cremation

AU2307204590 Sofia BTA in English
1924 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—Today, 41 years after his death, more than one hundred co-workers and followers of Georgi Dimitrov gathered to pay last honors to the urn with his ashes.

Former President Petur Mladenov who recently gave in his resignation was also among those present at the funeral rally. His appearance aroused cries of approval.

Today I will have to deliver my most difficult political speech, stated the leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), Mr Aleksandur Lilov, underlining that this was a hard day for the Socialists in Bulgaria.

Mr Lilov pointed out that the taking out of Georgi Dimitrov's mortal remains from the mausoleum in the center of Sofia and their burial did not mean any revision of the historical importance, the role and the services Georgi Dimitrov had rendered to this country. He is still considered to be a political figure of enormous national and international prestige. Mr Aleksandur Lilov said that like all political figures Georgi Dimitrov was not faultless and along with his undoubted merits he had had his delusions and had made some mistakes. It is only history which can pass the most correct judgment upon his lifework, he went on to say.

Mr Lilov explained that the BSP took the initiative of Georgi Dimitrov's funeral to re-evaluate the artificial way of expressing the people's respect for a national leader which was imported from abroad and which ran counter both to the party's outlook and to Georgi Dimitrov's personal persuasions.

Pointing out that most of the Socialists consider this decision a right and necessary one, a decision which is in line with the democratic development of the country, Mr Lilov showed understanding for the rest who qualified this act as "a political departure and disloyalty".

Mr Aleksandur Lilov addressed all Socialists in Bulgaria calling upon them to close their ranks and go on along the road to radical renewal and reform of the BSP which should turn into a modern left party of democratic socialism. As a party we have two alternatives, he said: Either a profound ideological organizational and personnel renewal and transformation or stagnation and split.

The time from 15:00 to 17:00 hrs allowed for paying last respects to Georgi Dimitrov proved to be too short. It was announced that after the rally it will be extended until all people who may wish to pay their last respects.

The urn with Dimitrov's ashes will be buried in the attendance of a close family circle.

'Free Cooperative Party' Nominates Markovski

AU2307192790 Sofia BTA in English
1616 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 23 Jul (BTA)—Today yet another nomination for Bulgaria's president was announced. The leadership of the Free Cooperative Party (FCP) informed the BTA that it had nominated Dimitur Markov Markovski, national coordinator of the FCP which declared that it "defends the interests of political workers, producers, the intelligentsia and the cooperative movement".

The Free Cooperative Party has not got no seats in at the Grand National Assembly which is going to resume its session tomorrow to discuss the presidential nominations.

Up to now the nominees are: Prof Chavdar Kyuranov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; Dr Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party,

nominated by the Union of Democratic Forces; Mr Viktor Vulkov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party; and Mr Velin Meledzhiev, an engineer who put forward his own independent candidature.

Fatherland Union Appeals for 'Stable Government'

AU2307081290 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 18 Jul p 1

["Text" of "declaration of the Fatherland Union National Council Coordination Bureau" adopted in Sofia on 16 July]

[Text] It has been a month since the parliamentary elections and the Fatherland Union is convinced that in our country the democratic process and economic develoment have slowed down alarmingly during this period. Our people's dissatisfaction with the deteriorating political crisis, the further destablization of our social life, and the further deterioration of the economic and market situation is justified and increasing. Concern over the present situation and the future now affects every Bulgarian home. During the period of the election campaign the major political forces solemnly pledged to their voters that they would work to achieve a stable government, the development of parliamentary democracy, prompt anti-crisis measures, and civic peace, but none of these promises has so far been fulfilled. The polarization and confrontation of different groups, parties, and public figures continues. We are under the growing impression that the political parties are now concerned more about dividing power among themselves than about anything else, while the people are not getting what they have been expecting from their politicians.

In such circumstances the Fatherland Union fully agrees with the memorandum adopted by the Executive Committee of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation on 9 July 1990 as a necessary action of the trade unions, and declares that it shares their assessment of the current state of our society and country. It also shares the determination to oppose all attempts to obstruct the work of the Grand National Assembly by party squabbles and to prevent narrow-minded party interests from prevailing over the country's interests.

Our society does not consist solely of political parties, but also of above-party citizens' organizations which reflect the people's interests and aspirations, and share responsibility for the future of the country. The Fatherland Union reflects and defends the interests of the population, not on the basis of political, religious, or professional affiliation, but solely on the grounds of the situation as citizens enjoying equal rights. The Union acts on behalf of the citizens' needs and concerns on a local scale. Such interests and needs determine our stand today.

By supporting the memorandum of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation Executive Committee, we join the trade unions in protecting the population's interests on a local scale, considering that it is the common people that have to bear the main burden of social instability, the local administration's arbitrary actions, and the shortage of foodstuffs and consumer goods, and it is they that have to bear the burden of speculation and the black market which are spreading with impunity all over the country, the deteriorating social environment, and the growing crime rate.

The Fatherland Union insists on the following measures:

—The Grand National Assembly should rally around the idea of forming an above-party government, which should excluse all persons who have disgraced themselves in the past. Such a government, composed of competent public figures, should have the support of parliament in the basic trends of its activity aimed at the development of democracy, socioeconomic reform, and the solution of the nationality problem.

—Parliament should promptly engage in debates about the total package of draft bills related to the transition to a market economy, designating a deadline for the adoption of each specific draft. This should be preceded by a thorough briefing of our public on the whole truth about our foreign debt, the economic crisis, and those who are responsible for it.

—The elimination of totalitarian structures at all levels should begin as soon as possible, and attempts to preserve such structures on a local scale, no matter in what guise, should be prevented. The Fatherland Union is resolved to adopt energetic, independent action for this purpose.

—The new government should examine the proposal of the Fatherland Union for the defense of the citizens' social rights on a local scale within a month of assuming office.

—The government is expected to assume its responsibilities, while the law and order organs should unconditionally exert their respective functions in guaranteeing the citizens' peaceful life and security.

The Fatherland Union declares its readiness for cooperation and joint actions with trade unions and all other public forces and movements which share its views on the aforementioned subjects and are ready to defend their stands.

Nikolay Todorov Meets Trade Union, Party Leaders

AU2307194390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, met today with Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation, and Ognyan Tomov, chairman of the National Strike Committee.

Nikolay Todorov briefed them on his meeting with Aleksandur Lilov, Zhelyu Zhelev, Viktor Vulkov, and

Andrey Lukanov, at which they discussed how and when the major political forces represented in parliament shall provide an answer to the memorandum of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation.

The chairman of the Grand National Assembly proposed to the representatives of the Confederation that the contact group of the major political forces in the Grand National Assembly should begin on 24 July to specify the demands contained in the memorandum and clarify the terms of their solution by the parliament.

The Grand National Assembly will discuss the memorandum and will adopt a document which should include the answers to the questions posed.

Nikolay Todorov proposed to the confederation that it should abstain from effective, nationwide actions until the first meetings of the contact group and until the parliament debates on the memorandum.

According to the trade union representatives, the intensification of the Grand National Assembly is a fact, even if somewhat belated.

The proposals of the Grand National Assembly chairman and of the major political forces shall be discussed at a session of the Independent Trade Union Confederation Executive Committee scheduled for tonight.

'Free Prices' Not Stimulating Vegetable Growers

AU2407112490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Jul 90 p 4

[Dima Dimitrova article: "Free Prices Did Not Wake Up the Vegetable Growers"]

[Text] According to a report of the Central Statistical Administration, the agricultural organizations have collected less fruit and vegetables compared with the same period last year.

The liberalization of fruit and vegetable prices has produced the opposite effect.

We can assume that objective reasons exert their influence on the problems of fruit growing, considering that new orchards cannot be sown so quickly and harvesting depends on weather conditions. These are the reasons which specialists give when explaining the reduced quantities of cherries, for example.

Nevertheless, since February 1990 to this day, the labor cooperative agricultural farms have had enough time to sow and pick more tomatoes, cucumbers, and potatoes. However, the reality is different—4,600 tons less tomatoes were picked over the first six months of 1990, while 600 tons less cucumbers, and 1,900 tons less potatoes were harvested.

Consequently, average prices in the state-owned and cooperative food stores considerably escalated. Potatoes and tomatoes are 2.3 times more expensive, while the price of cucumbers has increased 1.6 times. These figures were calculated by the Central Statistical Administration for the 1990 January to May period.

According to the laws of market supply and demand, we can presume that prices would have been lower had the agricultural organizations produced more vegetables. A plenitude of goods and cheap supplies would have caused a price drop on the so-called free market in this case.

Presumably, the agricultural organizations will find some objective excuses for the reduced vegetable production—such as the shortage of manpower, for example. Higher purchase prices would stimulate higher wages indeed, but higher wages will hardly attract more people to engage in such hard labor, and we are still very far from having a sufficient amount of available technical facilities.

Another fact should be pointed out—despite the recent government decree and despite numerous applications from private citizens to be granted plots, the local authorities are rather unwilling to lease land to private owners. The government on two occasions sent insistent teletyped messages, reminding the local authorities of their obligations.

Last, but not least, competition in vegetable growing is a relative concept. Private producers exist, but the agricultural organizations maintain their role as the largest producers and for objective, or subjective reasons, can dictate high prices in case of shortages. If we add the shortcomings of the purchasing organizations which came to light throughout the season, and also the profits from the high prices which cause a lack of interest in producing larger amounts, it would seem that a market economy of a typicalty Bulgarian variety prevails in our country.

It is up to the experts to decide what a real market economy should look like, but while they are thinking the consumers are paying high prices.

Third World Reportedly Owes Nation $2.2 Billion

AU2407122790 Sofia BTA in English 0908 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 24 Jul (BTA)—Third world countries owe Bulgaria a total of 2,212 million dollars, reports todays DUMA, citing official data of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank. The feature says that by the beginning of June, the debtor countries had utilized 2,904 million of the 3,643 million dollars worth of credit granted to them by Bulgaria and had repaid 792 million dollars.

Iraq is the most heavily indebted nation to Bulgaria: It owes her 1,200 million dollars. Next come Libya (265 million), Nicaragua and Algeria. Iran is not among Bulgaria's debtors, the newspaper writes.

The paper assesses in positive terms Bulgaria's cooperation with the third world countries but acknowledges that along with that, there have been a number of failures to match economic appraisal with political realities. "There have been cases of generous free aid against hazy promises for indestructible fraternal feelings," the daily indicates.

There have been cases of arbitrary decisions, such as the oil concession in Libya, forced personally by the ousted dictator Todor Zhivkov. The concession has shown a loss of 150 million dollars, and there may be further losses.

Due to the lack of foresight, the processes which turned our respectable partners into bad debtors took us by surprise, the feature says. Merely twenty or so days after the visit to Libya by the former Bulgarian prime minister, that country halved the oil deliveries by which it was repaying its credit. A war-ravaged Iraq also suspended its payments. Bulgaria's other debtors are in a similar situation.

And yet, the paper says, things are not quite hopeless. A contract has been signed with Iraq on the delivery of 5 million tons of oil over the next four years. Other countries repay their debts in consumer goods.

Dienstbier Meets USSR's Gerasimov in Prague

LD2307170390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, deputy premier of the federal government and minister of foreign affairs, met Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Service of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in Prague today.

They exchanged views on current developments in the two countries and informed each other about their approach to current international problems; they also discussed some bilateral issues.

UK's Hurd Signs Accords on Security, Drugs

LD2307104790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, held talks in Prague today with his British counterpart, Douglas Hurd. They devoted their attention above all to European security in the context of the overall international situation and examined possibilities of integrating Czechoslovakia more broadly into cooperation with the EC countries. They exchanged views on the future of the Warsaw Pact and NATO and on prospects for their relations.

Jiri Dienstbier recalled the Czechoslovak proposal on economic assistance to the Soviet Union and other states of Central and East Europe. He pointed to the utilization of such assistance in realizing specific economic projects aimed at stabilizing internal development in the Soviet Union.

Both ministers discussed a broad range of issues concerning mutual cooperation with an emphasis on the effective use of British assistance within the framework of the knowledge and experiences gained from privatization.

Jiri Dienstbier and Douglas Hurd signed an agreement between the governments of Czechoslovakia and Britain on cooperation in the battle against terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime, and general questions of security.

Memorandum to Austria Over Nuclear Station

LD2007203190 Prague CTK in English 1939 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 20 (CTK)—On the decision of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa, Czechoslovakia today handed over to Austrian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Karl Peterlik a memorandum, expressing in it its concern over a new wave of the anti- Czechoslovak campaign in Austria aroused in connection with an article published in the weekly for policy, economy and culture Nove Slovo.

The alarming reports around the running of the nuclear power station at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, are quite unjustified. In order to prevent further spreading of this campaign, Marian Calfa invited Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to inspect the power station to convince himself of the safety of the power station.

The Czechoslovak side firmly believes that this step will bring calm to mutual relations and prevent further spreading of anti- Czechoslovak moods in Austria.

Austrian Minister Arrives for Nuclear Plant Talks

LD2307195990 Prague CTK in English 1818 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bratislava July 23 (CTK)—Austrian Minister of Environment, Youth and Family Marilies Flemming arrived here today for talks on problems concerning safety of operation at the V-1 nuclear power plant in Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia.

Last week, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa invited Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to inspect the power station at Jaslovske Bohunice after he questioned its safety and Austrian activists demanded tht the V-1 section of this stations be shut down.

Czechoslovak authorities say that it is safe to operate the nuclear power plant with intensified precautionary measures that have been taken. The plant management is asking Siemens and the Vienna- based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) for independent studies before a decision is taken whether to continue operation, reconstruct or shut down the plant.

Flemming on Nuclear Plant Danger

LD2307222890 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Interview with Marilies Flemming, Austrian minister for family, sport, and environment, by unidentified reporter in Bratislava on 23 July—live or recorded; Flemming speaks in German with superimposed translation into Slovak]

[Text] [Reporter] Mrs. Minister, when we last interviewed you, you spoke about a new stage of development between Czechoslovakia and Austria in the field of ecology. Do you think you were mistaken?

[Flemming] Certainly not. It has been a wish of Mr. Chancellor [Vronitzky] and his colleagues to visit your country. We are happy that you have a new government. Today I have come also to tell you how strong our friendship is for the Czech and Slovak peoples. We are, however, concerned about a number of reports which we have received in connection with the safety of your nuclear power stations, in particular Jaslovske Bohunice. I think that it is our joint concern. I have come as a minister of the environment to have talks with my colleagues, and I think that we should agree to a joint proceeding against the ministers of the economy, because their interests are different. We, the miniters of the environment, must strive for the maximum protection of the safety and health of our citizens.

[Reporter] You know of the power production situation of Czechoslovakia. Do you think a political or press campaign can deal with this?

[Flemming] We know your heritage well. However, when the question is how to prevent a terrible catastrophe, something similar to what took place in Chernobyl, there is only one way out: A power station like this must be shut down. The Austrian Government has said that it would take on part of the expenses for the energy which we could supply to you. This is a concrete solution.

[Reporter] Why is Austria especially concerned with Czechoslovak nuclear power stations, and why these days?

[Flemming] We are concerned about all power stations, Yugoslav, German, or Hungarian. Howver, we think that there is a certain degree of security risks. The GDR has also decided to shut down the Greifswald power station because it did not comply with FRG security rules, but we think that Greifswald has been less of a nuclear security risk than Jaslovske Bohunice. Bohunice represents a danger to us all.

Further on Nuclear Plant Talks

LD2307223990 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] As the Austrian minister [Marilies Flemming, Austrian minister for family, sport, and environment] continues her talks behind closed doors with our representatives probably even now, we have been briefed on the preliminary results of these talks, two hours of talks, by Federal Minister Josef Vavrovsek:

[Begin recording] [Vavrovsek, in Czech] We have agreed on two basic directions of cooperation: the first is the long-term cooperation in reducing energy consumption and in finding above all decentralized methods of energy production which would utilize nontraditional, renewable sources. The second direction is short- term cooperation, focusing on reducing the risk connected with operating the existing nuclear sources—above all, the V-1 power station in Jaslovske Bohunice. Both sides have agreed that there is no immediate, direct risk of any breakdown. We realize, of course, that in the long term this power station is burdened by two sins, so to speak: first by the fact that it is located in a seismically active zone; and second by the fact that it was designed according to standards enforced at the end of sixties and early seventies—standards which were less strict and which did not ensure safety to the degree ensured by subsequent standards. Despite this, there is no direct source of danger, however.

[Unidentified reporter] In this regard, international expert opinion has also been discussed, right?

[Vavrovsek] This is the basis of the whole future approach. We, independently of the fact that now our Austrian colleagues have come up with the idea that something should be done quickly, long before this, we, the Czechoslovak side, asked the International Atomic Energy Agency to carry out our expert checks in the framework of a routine operation program—this should take place in the first 14 days of October, and, besides this, colleagues from the Slovak power generating enterprises have asked experts from the FRG specializing in improving the quality or increaisng the safety of power stations, and who have gained experience at a power station of the same type in East Germany, in Greifswald—to carry out expert studies. This will take place next month, specifically on 7 August, and will focus on estimating risks connected with operating the Bohunice nuclear power station, because every power station is a potential source of risk, and the main task is to contain it within acceptable limits—that is, within internationally recognized limits. [end recording]

New Incidents at Bohunice Plant Reported

AU2307205590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 23 Jul 90 pp 112-116

[Unattributed report: "No Premiums Without Megawatts"]

[Excerpts] Slovenliness, low safety standards as a consequence of poor technology, and continuous accidents are nothing out of the ordinary in CSFR nuclear power plants: Internal reports of the Prague Nuclear Commission have shown that the oversized CSFR nuclear energy program is becoming a severe test case for the young democracy. [passage omitted]

Frightening conditions have, above all, been reported from Jaslovske Bohunice. Only 60 km northeast of Vienna, two major catastrophes almost took place at the Bohunice plant in the seventies.

In spring 1976, the "A 1" reactor, a gas-cooled prototype developed in the CSFR, was on the verge of a meltdown. Under full pressure, the lid of fuel canal came off; the fuel cassette was ejected, hitting and killing one worker while two others suffocated due to the hot gas. A major nuclear disaster like Chernobyl was prevented only thanks to the bold effort of one worker, who provisionally closed the open canal by means of a reloading machine a few minutes later.

Twelve months later, the staff ignored the temperature reported from the reactor core; several fuel elements melted through, all pumping and canal systems were damaged or exposed to radiation.

The site of the power plant and the subsoil continue to be polluted as a consequence of these accidents and the incorrect storage of radioactive refuse. According to reports by members of the local control authority in the special journal NUCLEONICS WEEK, they found up to 24,000 becquerel from tritium per liter, and more than two million becquerel from cesium per one kilogram earth in the soil around the plant—ten times as much as the maximum allowable amount per square meter in the FRG.

Right next to the closed hazardous reactor, two "V 1" and "V 2" blocks with two pressurized water reactors from the early days of East European nuclear technology are still in operation.

The "V 1" block, which is the same design as those in the GDR plant at Greifswald, which have now been closed

and are described as extremely risky, is the "weakest link in the CSFR nuclear power chain." [passage omitted]

A report intended for the government explains that because of "the limited possibilities for technological control, it is impossible to establish the amount of the material damage, which makes it impossible to estimate the remaining lifespan." A spokesman of the Nuclear Commission has stated that presumably the boilers of the "V 1" have become as brittle as those of the Greifswald reactors. Ilse Tweer, a specialist for the testing of material from Hannover, who also examined the boilers at Greifswald, warned that if this were the case, "then emergency, even caused by little leaks, might cause a disaster."

The materials test expert has noted that the brittle steel threatens to break at the very moment at which the danger of the greatest conceivable accident occurs at a reactor—that is, when the emergency cooling system is put on, during which the temperature in the boiler is brought down suddenly through cold water.

These defects appear to be even more precarious when considered in the context of experiences gained in the normal operations of the "V 1," which were recorded by the Nuclear Commission in its annual reports over the last two years:

—In seven of the twelve pipe sockets of the pressure vessel in block 1 and at six sockets in block 2, during the annual inspection the staff discovered deep cracks, which it simply "repaired through grinding and welding."

—At various instances, and in line with the principle that "no bonuses without megawatts" (as one of the staff in the nuclear power plant put if), the staff of the plant turned off the automatic emergency shutdown system so that the plant would not shut off, despite the fact that various components had broken down.

—At two occasions, in May and July 1989, the cables of one of the main circulating pumps in block 2 melted down; however, the reactor was operated with the remaining pumps for weeks and nobody ever looked for the true reasons of the short circuit. [passage omitted]

OECD Grant Likely To Support Ecology, Business

AU2307123790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jul 90 p 1

[Marcela Doleckova report: "Grant Also for Us; The Ministry of Economy Is Setting Up a New Agency"]

[Excerpts] A small team of experts will depart for Brussels this week to discuss the technicalities of the grant [nenavratna pujcka] which was offered to Czechoslovakia within the framework of the Phare [French for "beacon"] fund. Time is pressing: The areas into which we would like to channel this donation must be approved by the ministerial council of the OECD countries before this year is over. [passage omitted]

In choosing the projects one had to consider the ideas of the contributors to this fund, which are unambiguous: If they open the faucets, then they will do so only for areas such as ecology or small and medium-size businesses. [passage omitted]

According to information from the Ministry of Economy, Czechoslovakia has been allocated 35 million European Currency Units [ECU's]. [passage omitted] Next year, however, the grant could amount to as much as 100 million ECU's, not to mention the fact that—again, according to information from the aforementioned ministry—the fund could operate for a few more years. At present, four years are being considered.

In connection with this grant, which is not the only factor, the Ministry of Economy considers setting up under its jurisdiction a special agency for direct foreign investments and credits, which would serve as a coordinator. As we were told at the ministry, many Western countries, including the Phare fund, require talks at the federal level. [passage omitted] The agency should comprise representatives of banking circles and the most important government departments. People at the ministry claim, however, that any struggle for allocations from grants and direct foreign investments is ruled out. The government will select the areas in order to obtain approval from foreign creditors, donors, or investors.

Meciar on Gonez's Visit, Tiso Controversy

AU2307091190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 16 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

["Excerpts" of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar's weekly address to Slovak Television viewers broadcast on 14 July; place not given: "The World Is Watching Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] This past week has been very important by virtue of the visits and meetings with representatives of foreign countries. [passage omitted]

Extremely pleasant was the meeting with representatives from Hong Kong, who have come to Slovakia with a number of initiatives and offers. These included offers to set up joint ventures as well as offers of direct investments in computer technology, transport, environment, tourism, and some other branches. Our trade partners from Hong Kong proposed that, along with injections of capital, several thousand of their citizens would come to Slovakia to seek here conditions for permanent residence. They would like to work and live directly where they invest their capital and, of course, participate in the profits. This is the only aspect [of the offer], which has made us weigh our answer during the talks so far.

Very important was the visit by the president of the Hungarian Republic. The talks with him were very interesting and very candid, as could be anticipated from the nature of the issues that appeared on the conference table. First, this concerned the question of national minorities and their status—both Hungarians living in the Slovak Republic and Slovaks living in Hungary. We

agreed that future cooperation in this sphere is possible on the basis of agreements concluded between the governments. National sovereignty and the fact that citizens of Hungarian nationality on our territory are, first and foremost, citizens of the Slovak Republic must be respected, however. The fact must also be respected that what we place uppermost today are universal goals, i.e., the ability to assess a person according to his level of education, according to what he is able to accomplish, according to his morality and character traits. Nationality and everything else is secondary to this. We also agreed that in the constitutions being drafted we shall guarantee to members of ethnic minorities, as the very minimum, rights that are enshrined in the conclusions of the CSCE. We can guarantee more but must not guarantee less than that. We drew attention to the fact, however, that this result will be an outcome of an agreement between Slovaks and Hungarians on our territory, accepted by Slovak and federal bodies, and that it will be our joint conclusion, for which we do not require any help from the outside. Our words on Gabcikovo, too, were candid and frank. We are of the opinion that Gabcikovo ought to be completed and that its operation should be subjected to an experimental test. [passage omitted]

Public opinion has been stirred up this week by the act at Banovce nad Bebravou—the unveiling of a plaque to Jozef Tiso, president of the Slovak state, which states that he is our Svatopluk [ninth-century ruler of Greater Moravia, the first Slavic state on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia]. I do not identify with this act and with the historical assessment of the person of Jozef Tiso which it implies. There are many blank spots in the Slovak history of the 20th century that need to be filled and to which historians must give an answer. It needs to be stressed, however, that Jozef Tiso was not sentenced as a clergyman and believer but as a representative of a state with fascist tendencies. Deportations of Jews, the attitude toward Czechs and gypsies, the restrictions of civil liberties, the suppression of the uprising of the Slovak people (in which all Slovaks were involved, regardless of religion and political beliefs)—these are all facts. These matters cannot be concealed by ordering that the plaque be temporarily covered or by explaining that this was a premature step. The unveiling of the tablet was a politically wrong step. If we want to develop democracy and combat totalitarianism, we must combat totalitarianism of every sort. And totalitarianism did not start in our country in 1948 but as early as 1938. Totalitarianism did not have only a red appearance but also a brown one. Everyone who is serious about the protection of civil rights and liberties must therefore stand up and resist this wave [of Tiso's rehabilitation] in the name of our democracy. What is involved here is not an isolated local act performed at Banovce nad Bebravou by a few supporters of Jozef Tiso but an act which casts aspersions on the standing of Slovakia in the international public, an act which devalues the credibility of the efforts to strengthen Slovak statehood.

Tablet to Jozef Tiso Removed After Protests

AU2307102190

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 18 and 19 July continue to publish critical comments on the unveiling of a memorial tablet to Jozef Tiso, president of Slovakia in 1939-45, at Banovce nad Bebravou, West Slovakia, on 8 July.

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 18 July on page 2 carries a 250-word "Statement by the Government of the Slovak Republic" on the incident, which was adopted at the 17 July session of the Slovak Government. It says that the unveiling of the tablet "compromises all of us in the eyes of nations and the world public and, moreover, is expressly damaging to the constructive efforts at an authentic federation." The "unhealthy emotions" stirred up by the act have also 'done damage to the sincere efforts at our two free and democratic nations' return to Europe." In view of all these considerations, the Slovak Government "demands that the memorial tablet be removed."

On the same page, Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA carries a 500-word statement by the Slovak National Council Presidium on the unveiling of the tablet. The statement, which was adopted on 17 July, describes the installation of the plaque as a "politically wrong act" because the political responsibility of the leaders of the Slovak state and of its President Tiso, in particular, for the deportation of more than 50,000 Slovak Jews is "undoubted and indisputable." It appeals to the Slovak public "not to use the events surrounding the evaluation of Dr. Tiso and the problems of the period of World War II as an opportunity to stir up antagonistic passions and to destabilize Slovakia." The statement also announces the establishment of an "independent expert commission of historians, political scientists, and lawyers" to "comprehensively assess the history of Slovakia and Central Europe in 1939-45 and to more deeply clarify the contradictious role played by Dr. Tiso in this period." The statement by the Slovak National Council Presidium also expresses its support for the initiative to build in Slovakia "a dignified memorial to the tortured Jewish citizens and other victims from Slovakia."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 19 July on page 2 carries a 250-word statement by Anton Andras, minister of interior of the Slovak Republic, entitled "I Am Resolutely Opposed." In his statement, Andras rejects what he perceives as misinterpretation of remarks he made at a 12 July news conference. Andras stresses that his statement that "the problems of the Slovak state require a deeper analysis" did not mean that he would "justify Dr. Tiso and his practices."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 July on page 8 carries a 100-word CTK report stating that the memorial tablet to Jozef Tiso at Banovce nad Bebravou "has been removed" by representatives of local bodies and the organizers of the unveiling ceremony on 8 July.

"The tablet has been put into the depository of the Banovce nad Bebravou City National Committee."

Controversy Over Havel's Meeting With Waldheim

AU2307143390

[Editorial Report] Czechoslovak newspapers on 19 and 20 July publish a number of items related to President Vaclav Havel's forthcoming visit to Salzburg and his planned meeting with Austrian President Waldheim there.

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 19 July on pages 1 and 4 carries a 600-word "jaga"-signed commentary entitled "On the Trip to Salzburg." The ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY commentator recalls the controversy aroused by Austrian President Kurt Waldheim's attempts to "conceal his past" as a Wehrmacht officer and the resulting "undeclared but basically observed taboo" on trips by foreign heads of state to Austria. As the author points out, this "taboo" will be "broken" on 26 July, when CSFR President Vaclav Havel and FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker will meet Waldheim at Salzburg, on the occasion of the opening of the Salzburg Festival. The ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY commentator goes on to say: "There will be nothing symbolic and moral in Vaclav Havel—whose foreign political initiatives so far have surely earned him more recognition than critical words—shaking hands with the Austrian president. Of course, it is possible to speak of reconciliation in connection with the planned visit and of the endeavor to establish new relations with the neighboring country, in which many people regard attacks on Waldheim as attacks on Austria and its history. One can surely find also other reasons in support of the visit to the Salzburg Festival. But....

"According to the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE, the fact that two heads of state will go to Salzburg is meant to 'cover the back' of Vaclav Havel against pressure to cancel the visit. It has been said in Prague that Vaclav Havel is going to Salzburg as a playwright who only responds to an oft-repeated invitation. At present he is primarily president, however."

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech on 20 July on page 1 carries a 300-word Radka Kvackova commentary entitled "Dilemma." The author states that President Havel has found himself in an "unenviable situation" and expresses understanding for his decision to go to Salzburg. She says: "Kurt Waldheim is president in a country of our good friends. I do not have the responsibility of a statesman but I know, from the purely human viewpoint, that when I call on a family as guest I can scarcely say: 'But I refuse to see your father.' I can only decide not to go there at all. But try not to visit your nearest neighbors who have given you a kind invitation when you have already been to the more distant ones and when you respect them as family, want to coexist with them well, and even want to closely cooperate with them!

"No, the decision is not at all easy. I plead that we not exacerbate the situation."

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 20 July on page 1 carries a 300-word "telephone interview" with G. Fritz, press spokesman of FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE correspondent R. Stroebinger. In the interview, Fritz confirms that on 26 July the CSFR and FRG presidents will "jointly" visit Salzburg. They will depart from Bayreuth, where both of them will attend an opera performance on 25 July, in the morning and will then participate "as private persons" in the opening of the Salzburg Festival. Fritz says that "there is no doubt" that the two will meet Kurt Waldheim during their visit to Salzburg. Asked whether the two presidents had been in contact with regard to the Salzburg visit, Fritz replies that "the two presidents are in permanent intensive contact" and that "there is no problem that is not a subject of exchanges of views between them."

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 20 July on page 8 and other newspapers of that day publish a 50-word CTK report stating that Vaclav Havel received Karl Peterlik, the Austrian ambassador, in Prague on 19 July "to discuss the problems of nuclear energy and his upcoming visit to Salzburg."

Havel Justifies Salzburg Festival Attendance

AU2307144390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jul 90 pp 1,7

[Statement issued to CTK by President Vaclav Havel on 20 July: "I Will Go to the Salzburg Festival"]

[Text] A year ago, when I was first asked to open the renowned Salzburg Festival, I was a persecuted citizen in my own country. I regarded this request as a great honor and as an expression of respect for my literary work and for my struggle for human rights in Czechoslovakia. I did not perceive this invitation as a political act.

After our people toppled the totalitarian system and after our society's tremendous self-liberating movement elevated me to the most senior state position, I wanted to keep my old promise and, so, I confirmed my participation. I always thought this was merely a cultural matter and that I would deliver my speech in Salzburg simply as a writer. I thought the issue was what I would say there and not whom I would eventually meet, or not meet, there. I thought this until recently. I had written my lecture and I was looking forward to Salzburg.

However, the situation has changed radically in the last few days. It is apparent that the issue has become more of a political one than a cultural one. On the one hand, I was aware of the attempt being made to turn my participation into a political gesture and, on the other hand, it was made very obvious to me that I could cast aspersions on the ideals of our civic movement and on our current policy by my participation.

I considered this acute situation and all its various aspects for a long time. As a result of my considerations, I have decided that I will go to the Salzburg Festival. My decision is a reflection of my respect for the Salzburg

Festival and, first and foremost, for the Austrian people. The Austrians are our near neighbors and are linked to us by a great number of ties, including a common history. I personally want to do everything within my powers to intensify our friendship.

I have come to the conclusion that I will not betray my obligations and ideals if I visit the Salzburg Festival. I have never concealed my beliefs and I will not conceal them now. The certainty that I am doing the right thing makes me unafraid to look anyone in the eye, regardless of what I think of him or of what he thinks of me.

Plant To Produce U.S. Machines Under License

AU2407093790 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 17 Jul 90 p 1

["CTK, aa"-signed report: "Together With Western Firms"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] TOS [Machine Tool Factories] Kurim has established cooperation ties with the U.S. firm Tree Machine Tools from Wisconsin. According to a five-year contract on cooperation signed between the two companies, TOS Kurim will produce the Journeyman 425 numerically controlled tool room milling machines under the U.S. firm's license. Next year TOS Kurim will supply the first 175, and in each of the subsequent years 300 mechanical parts of these milling machines. The machines will be equipped with U.S. electronics. [passage omitted] The U.S. partner is interested in supplies of Kurim bolts and cooperation in the development and production of a small machine tool center. TOS Kurim has also concluded an agreement with the Mexican Fama company on cooperation in the production of the FNK 25 A tool room milling machines. [passage omitted]

Vales on Economic Reform, Policy

AU2307160890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jul 90 p 3

[Interview with Vaclav Vales, deputy premier of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY correspondent Jiri Sekera in Prague; date not given: "Economy Is Too Political Affair"]

[Text] The operation of the federal government, which defended its policy statement in parliament last week, is again getting into gear without any prospects of a summer repose. The implementation of the economic reform represents a substantial part of its agenda. Engineer Vaclav Vales, deputy premier of the federal government, is entrusted with the coordination of this task. In connection with this topic, we asked him several questions:

[Sekera] To what degree does the new federal government consider the time schedule of the reform process approved by the former government to be binding? To what extent will the schedule be corrected or reworked by the new government?

[Vales] The new government did not make many changes in the key economic ministerial seats. This guarantees continuity in the developments. The philosophy of the reform remains the same as adopted by the Government of National Consensus. At present, detailed materials are being processed in the individual ministries, and they will be submitted and discussed in the government according to the approved schedule.

Of course, the procedure once approved cannot become an immutable dogma. After all, our experience is growing and forming. For instance, the advantages and deficiencies of the reform process in other countries of Central and East Europe are becoming apparent and we must correct our approach accordingly. Moreover, we have new experiences of our own. The economic laws, for example, which were adopted in parliament in the spring and which were supposed to support the development of entrepreneurship, are insufficient in some instances and even counterproductive. I believe, among other things, that the law on foreign trade activities conforms too much to the past period and preserves some monopolistic advantages.

[Sekera] Do you consider it necessary to continue discussions in principle on the key steps of the reform and on their sequence? I mean those which are discussed most often such as, for instance, price liberalization, methods of privatization, devaluation of our currency, internal convertibility, etc.

[Vales] That is self-evident and implied by my preceding answer. Extensive and detailed discussions are the best prevention of errors which could irreparably damage the entire reform process. One speaks, in this connection, of various criteria of the reform, above all, of its rapidity. I see only one criterion—its success. It is better to return to the already approved measures and to reconsider them in light of the acquired knowledge, and perhaps change them, than to rigidly insist on the principles once they are accepted.

Moreover, a number of questions are not unequivocally clear or even decided. One example is the method of privatization, which is still being discussed; and a unanimous consensus has not been reached yet.

[Sekera] The problems of further progress in economic reform are being processed at the federal level as well as at the level of both national republics. Can you tell us about the coordination and division of work and responsibility in the implementation of the individual reform steps and what the role of the Economic Council is?

[Vales] As you certainly must know, a change is being prepared in the role of the center in the national economy. The individual jurisdictions will be gradually delegated to the lower level of management—not only to the level of the republics, but in a number of cases even to the level of cities and communities. Why should, for instance, the founding of a new company be approved by a ministry somewhere far away, when a decision by the community in which the company will operate could suffice? Thus far, however, only outlines of the future decentralization are being drawn, which will be further elaborated as we progress. But one can, perhaps, say in

general that the responsibility for the entire economic climate should lie, above all, with the federal government, the responsibility for the economic policy will be transferred to the national governments, and the actual management and decisionmaking should be in the hands of companies, cities, and communities.

On the central level, i.e., between the federal and national governments, a consensus must, of course, be gradually attained. As this consensus is progressively approached, the differences of opinion will be gradually narrowed. The Economic Council must become precisely the place where various, often contradictory, views will be sorted out, where a common language will be sought and found.

[Sekera] Reproaches are heard that the reform discussion became an exclusive domain of a relatively narrow circle of economists from the center. Is it desirable, in your opinion, that workers in the executive sphere, representatives of companies and, where appropriate, private businessmen, should have more say in the assessment of the proposed methods?

[Vales] Although these reproaches are justified, they take no account of the situation during the past few months. We have to realize that many social and political structures collapsed, others had to subsequently undergo restructuring. This means that no platform existed on which broader discussions could have been organized. This situation is, however, subject to a radical change. The proof of that is also the budding discussions on the progress of the reform on pages of HOSPODARSKE NOVINY and other periodicals.

We have not in the past been used to such criticisms as those which government decisions will certainly be subjected to in the newly constituted parliament. The discussion on the federal government policy statement only confirms this. Moreover, other platforms are taking shape. New structures of business circles, for instance, have been established. The Union of Private Entrepreneurs already expresses loud dissatisfaction with the operation of the government which, according to the union's opinion, insufficiently supports private initiatives. The Union of Industrial Enterprises, grouping existing state companies, is rapidly acquiring the role of a powerful adversary. The restructured trade union movement will probably soon begin to defend the interests of its members, to press for social viewpoints, which may have been pushed into the background a bit during the reform process. Political parties will be activated and will submit their own concepts. In addition, the scientific front is already awakening from its lethargy and beginning to deal with concrete problems of our economy.

Therefore, I believe that the circle of discussants, which have existed up to this time, will, during the next few months, radically grow, and the discussions might, in some cases, be of a rather hectic character. The formerly idyllic reform implementation is irrevocably a matter of the past.

[Sekera] President Vaclav Havel spoke in the parliament about an assignment for our economists to implement the reform without any great social traumas, without high inflation, and without loss of social security. Is this a requirement compatible with the planned radical variant of the reform—i.e., particularly price liberalization, strict restrictive policy, uncompromising market pressure on rapid changes in the productive structures?

[Vales] Securing an acceptable stability of social development is the goal of every government. The economy is too much a political affair for the state leadership to afford excessive social trauma. I stress the word "excessive" because the loss of some social security, and thereby the inception of some social unrest, cannot be avoided. We will, however, attempt to minimize them and find an optimal variant of the transition—rapid, but the least painful one.

We have a certain advantage in the possibility of being able to draw on the experiences gained by other countries that began their reform process earlier than we did. The news from the GDR, for instance, is a warning to us. Following the introduction of the monetary union in that country, while preserving the monopoly structures, retail prices begin to rise excessively. Our further course of action could also be influenced by the experiences of Poland. The restrictive monetary and fiscal policy there has led to a fall in production to about two-thirds of last year's level and to a deep recession combined with growing unemployment. If some Polish economists' fears that reactivating the economy is an illusion prove to be warranted, if they are right in their assertion that the production curve will not resemble the letter V but the letter L, then we in Czechoslovakia will have to reconsider some problems.

[Sekera] Your efforts to judge the projects of the reform measures not only from the point of view of their theoretically expected outcome in general but also from the point of view of their impact on the economy and businesses are well known. Do you yourself think that enough care and attention is being paid to the research and, where applicable, to the quantification of the consequences of the individual reform steps?

[Vales] We are trying, according to what type of measures are adopted, to project the consequences of the individual reform steps all the way to the production level. Obviously one cannot model all the consequences. One must also realize that the federal government quantifies and compensates only some of the results caused by changes in the economic regulations such as, for instance, the measures compensating for retail price adjustments. In the long run, however, with the transition to a market economy, the government is mostly concerned with the initiation of changes in the behavior of economic variables, and the quantifications will contribute to the cognizance of the macroeconomic processes and their regulation, rather than to the detailed solution of the income situation of individual enterprises and companies.

[Sekera] How do you view the current situation in our enterprises? What would you consider—if you were, for

instance, a director of a machine-building enterprise—to be the decisive factor in running that enterprise at present?

[Vales] The answer to this question will probably vary in different machine-building enterprises. It will be different in new enterprises, different again in enterprises with greatly depreciated fixed assets, it will differ in the enterprises with export orientation, and again in those producing primarily for the domestic market. The situation in the former armament industry enterprises, which are undertaking a conversion, i.e., a transition to civilian production, is entirely in a class of its own. In general, I would recommend to every director that he size up his present and future situation on the market, his possibilities and risks in the area of supplies of raw materials and from subcontractors, bottlenecks, and untapped potentials in production assets and in the workers' qualifications, and use it all to develop a long-term strategy for his enterprise. One must include in these considerations also the anticipated property rights status and, as the case may be, the possibilities of effective cooperation with foreign capital.

Parties Criticize Government Economic Policy

LD2307211290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Representatives of Czechoslovak Social Democracy, headed by its chairman, Jiri Horak, and of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, headed by its deputy chairman, Milan Adam, discussed in Prague today the current political situation in society. They critically assessed the government's current economic policy, because it lacks, in their opinion, a specific elaboration of individual steps. They also stressed the need for the bill on local elections to be published at least 90 days prior to the elections, and the need for views of other political subjects and groups of citizens to be taken into account in its drafting. Both parties also stated that they would establish permanent contacts at all levels which would contribute to the discussion of serious issues and to constantly examining the possibilities of a joint approach.

New Engineering Minister on Future Plans

LD2307193390

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1630 GMT on 23 July broadcasts a two-minute report on journalists' questions to the new Czechoslovak minister of machine building and electrical engineering, Miroslav Gregr, who assumed his post today, 23 July. He talked to the journalists about the tasks of the newly created ministry. Editor Stanislav Kuzel asked the minister which spheres would be developed and which would be phased out. The minister said that examination of spheres for the future is being carried out at present by the ministry. Among such spheres are the building of machine tools, textile machinery, medical equipment, transportation machinery, small printing equipment, equipment for hydroelectric power stations, cars, and trucks, he says.

Minister Gregr went on to say that "there remains only the question of how the enterprises are to be helped to gain access to international markets" and above all to Western markets in order to obtain convertible currency.

He concludes by remarking that: "We must not, however, forget markets that used to be called Eastern, because the most important Western enterprises are also interested in those markets, be they in, for example, the Soviet Union or China."

Majority Reportedly Feel Democracy Irreversible

AU2007130490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 16 Jul 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "People's Opinions About Our Road Toward Democracy"]

[Text] As the table below clearly indicates, the overwhelming majority of our citizens are of the opinion that our republic is proceeding toward democracy (86 percent), and that this development is irreversible (84 percent). At the same time, they consider democracy in our country to be far from being absolutely achieved (77 percent); on the contrary, they expect a series of possible complications (95 percent) and they also expect that this situation will continue for some time (79 percent). Against this, the majority of our citizens (72 percent) are not worried that today's development could still be subverted by the old structures. As usual, a representative sample of 741 respondents was questioned.

Source: Institute for Public Opinion Research

(all figures given in percentages)

	Absolutely agree	Somewhat agree	Absolutely disagree	Somewhat disagree	Do not know
1. A number of serious difficulties still await us on our road toward democracy:	64	31	1	3	1
2. Our road toward democracy is irreversible:	38	46	2	9	5
3. Democracy is still being fought for in our country:	3	16	25	52	4
4. Current development in our country could be subverted by supporters of the former political regime:	4	14	36	36	10
5. Czechoslovakia is not proceeding toward democracy:	3	6	50	36	5

Civic Forum Discusses Future Role

LD2107192290 Prague Television in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Text] The Republican Assembly of the Civic Forum met in Prague today. Its principal task was to decide the future form of this movement and the principles by which it will be guided in the period ahead. Petr Kucera informed the Assembly about the talks between Civic Forum representatives and President Vaclav Havel concerning the role of the movement in our society.

[Begin Kucera recording] We agreed with the president that during the next two years, the Civic Forum will be an absolutely indispensable political force. It is the only political force that can help to insure the stability of this state in the next two-year period, a period which will be enormously difficult and complex. [end recording]

The assembly also discussed a draft of the movement's new structure, which will combine the advantages of the Civic Forum's liberal character with the more enduring foundations for its activity in a society which would not be burdened with past party practices and which would be able to enter the local government elections this fall. The Assembly also discussed the existing vertical organizational network, whether supporters of the movement should be registered or not, whether membership dues should be paid, and many other questions. The Assembly, however, did not make a fundamental decision about the form the Civic Forum is to assume; that issue will be discussed at the next meeting.

Oil Shortage Affects Plastics Production

LD2307193290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Summary] The daily production of gasoline at the Litvinov Chemical Works is equivalent to 20 million kilometers by car. Because of a reduction in crude oil deliveries from the Soviet Union, oil normally used to produce plastics has been used to produce an extra 50,000 tonnes of gasoline in June. Since one liter of petrol is sold for kcs 2 and the cost of plastics is higher, this will have economic consequences for the works.

Slovakia's Position in Federation Reconsidered

AU2407110590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Jul 90 pp 1,2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "Slovakia in the Federation and in the World"]

[Text] Bratislava— Yesterday Vladimir Meciar, Slovak Republic [SR] premier, came to NARODNA OBRODA's editorial office not only for a friendly meeting, but also for a working visit. He and Juraj Vales, NARODNA OBRODA's chief editor, jointly welcomed Jan Comaj, SR Government Office Press and Information Section director, and other guests. Thanks to this visit, Monday [16 July] was a rich day in acquiring information.

After our first topic regarding prospects for the press, radio, and television, we switched quickly in our discussion with the premier to the current situation in Slovakia and its position within the CSFR and its international relations. Few people know that the plan for the future federative arrangement of the state of Czechs and Slovaks, which was accepted by both republics and also by President Havel, was presented at the joint meeting of the Czech and the Slovak Republic Governments by the current premier, Vladimir Meciar. Therefore, we obtained the information directly from the source.

The plan anticipates the establishment of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic as two equal entities waiving some of their rights to the federation for the sake of mutual benefits. The form of state organs is derived from this fundamental idea. This is also why there must be two Constitutions. For example, in the sphere of the internal arrangement of the Czech lands, a territorial division will be established in the interests of Moravia and Silesia. This is the first difference, since there will be no such arrangement in Slovakia. The Constitutions will be different, yet they will have a lot in common, the Slovak premier said. The federation will be left with essential questions.

We will need a common intelligence service with the Czech Republic, Vladimir Meciar continued, and we intend to share the activity of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the sphere of international relations. International relations should be organized in such a way that the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic are able to resume ties with international organizations and state organs that are at the same level of administration, that is, to directly establish ties with governments, for example, in Bavaria and elsewhere. It is interesting to note that Mr. Meciar said that thanks to Minister Milan Knazko's performance, two countries are willing to offer free financial assistance to Slovakia. The Slovak Government must have the corresponding authority and be in a position to negotiate this.

According to him, foreign trade should be directed from the republics with the provision that it would exist as one section within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A common market, common currency, and common coordination for integration into the international division of labor are foreseen. As we learned from Mr. Meciar, because there are so few federal ministers, a presidential system is being considered which would directly administer the government. There are votes in favor and also against this. This is a topic of permanent discussion. As far as the president's function is concerned, the SR Government believes that a vice presidential function should be established; the vice president would always be a representative of the other republic. In the middle of their term they would exchange their positions, or the U.S. system would be adopted: The vice president would reside in the republic from which he came. The SR Government also intends to establish a CSFR President's residence in Bratislava, including his office.

We will share other information and ideas from the meeting with readers in future articles.

Slovak Premier Gives Television Address 21 Jul

LD2107210690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Text] In a television address delivered tonight, Vladimir Meciar, prime minister of the Slovak Republic, assessed the events our society is going through at the present time. He touched, among other things, on the troubling reports concerning the atomic power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice. He remarked that the government had commissioned two independent expert groups to ascertain the true state of the safety of the plant's operation, and that the public would be duly informed about the results of their report.

In his addresss, Vladimir Meciar gave a reminder that within the next two years the government of the Slovak Republic wants to assume the management of all sectoral economies, all branches which the federal government is currently managing in the economic sphere. Vladimir Meciar had conveyed this standpoint at his meeting with the president of the Republic, the federal prime minister, and the Czech prime minister.

The Slovak prime minister also dealt with the state prevailing at present in our enterprises, remarking at the same time that the development in factories was falling significantly behind the development in state administration, central authorities, and local administration.

Slovak National Democratic Movement in Preparation

LD2107192890 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Text] Bratislava July 21 (CTK)—A meeting preparing the founding of a Slovak National Democratic Movement (SNDH), which intends to work for "an entry of the Slovak republic to the scene of international politics as an independent subject," was held here today.

The participants are dissatisfied with the work of the existing parties and movements in enforcing Slovak demands after last month's elections.

One of the movement's aims is to "ensure the spiritual and material welfare of slovaks," a statement said.

Preliminary Economic Data for First Half 1990

AU2307083590 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 12 Jul 90 p 2

["vl"-signed report: "Pluses and Minuses of the Economy; On the Preliminary Results of the Economy in the First Six Months of the Year"]

[Text] Prague—According to the data of the Federal Statistical Office, which are still incomplete in many ways, gross production in the majority of industrial branches remained below last year's level in the first half of the year—by a total of 2.5 percent. At this moment it is hard to estimate to what degree this production drop has been caused by external and to what degree by internal factors and what role has been played by the drop in the number of hours worked (the number of working days dropped by two compared with the first half of 1989). If this factor is taken into account, average daily production in the first six months was only 1.8 percent lower than last year.

Similarly as in the past few months, overall industrial production for the entire first half of the year, too, increased, compared with the equivalent period of last year, chiefly in the gas industry; in the production of heat and electricity; in the wood- processing industry; in the glass, ceramics, and china industry; in the paper and pulp industry; in the production of medical supplies; and in the printing industry, which has experienced the largest production growth of all industrial branches. Light industry fell only 0.5 percent short of last year's production volume (0.2 percent in the Slovak Republic and 0.6 percent in the Czech Republic).

Cutback programs have made themselves felt in the results of the uranium industry in the Czech Republic (90.2 percent of the production volume of the first half of 1989) and in coal mining (90.3 percent). They have been far less markedly felt in ore mining (97.0 percent). A number of specific problems have been projected in the overall results of the fuel and power sector (95.8 percent of the production volume of the first half of 1989); in metallurgy, engineering, and the electrotechnical industry (96.8 percent); and in the chemical industry (95.7 percent).

In terms of wholesale prices in effect as of 1 January 1984, industrial output reached a volume of 441.7 billion korunas. The work force [in the centrally administered industry] totaled 2.651 million employees (97.4 percent of the level in the first half of 1989). This shows a labor productivity increase to 100.1 percent of the level in the first half of 1989. A deeper analysis, particularly from the viewpoint of qualitative indicators, will, however, have to wait until the end of July or beginning of August, when the Federal Statistical Office is expected to issue its comprehensive report on the results of the national economy in the first half of this year.

The decline in the building industry, which carried out with its own employees 33.6 billion korunas worth of construction work in the first six months of the year, continued (92.7 percent of last year's level). Labor productivity in the building industry also declined, to 96.9 percent of last year's level.

Generally favorable was the development of agricultural production in the first half of the year. With the exception of milk (99.6 percent), production exceeded last year's results by between 2 and 4.9 percent. A full one-half of the planned annual production was fulfilled

by the end of June—only milk production (49.0 percent of the annual plan) and calves for slaughter (28.9 percent) are trailing behind.

The lower volume of production has been strongly felt in the volume of public freight transport, which has significantly declined. It still remains to be analyzed to what degree this has been caused by the positive rationalization of transport requirements or, alternatively, by the negative shift to the use of the enterprises' own means of transport. In June the railroads transported only 22 million tonnes of goods (88.8 percent of the June 1989 level). Since the beginning of the year they transported 130 million tonnes of goods (91.0 percent). River transportation (74.9 percent of last year's volume for June and 80.1 percent of last year's volume for the entire sixth months) suffered from an even greater relative drop in the transport volume.

A total of 24.862 billion korunas' worth of goods were sold by the main retailing networks in June, almost 300 million korunas more than in May. When compared with the same months in 1989, however, the growth rate for June was lower (105.9 percent) than that for May (107.1 percent). The June 1989, volume of sales was exceeded in all regions last month—most markedly in Prague (108.3 percent) and least distinctly in East Slovakia (103.7 percent).

It is worth noting that the largest growth rate in food retailing for June (compared with the same month in 1989) was recorded in South Bohemia (114.7 percent), followed by Central Bohemia and North Moravia. East Slovakia comes last with 106.0 percent. Regarding sales of industrial merchandise, on the other hand, it was precisely East Slovakia, along with East Bohemia, which had the largest increase in turnover (109.5 percent). Bratislava came next, with 109.3 percent. Prague, on the other hand, was the only region which did not reach last June's turnover as far as sales of industrial merchandise are concerned (98.5 percent).

Statistics on Unemployment in Czech Republic

AU2007125490 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Jul 90 p 3

["kl"-signed report: "How Many People Are Unemployed?"]

[Text] Prague— At the beginning of June we published the first table illustrating the number of unemployed persons registered by the respective national committees. We have now received from the Ministry of Social Affairs of the Czech Republic [title as published] the latest figures on the situation as of 30 June. For the sake of comparison and to be able to assess the trend in individual regions, we also provide the figures for May:

Region	Number of Job Seekers		Number of Job Seekers Receiving Unemployment Benefits		Workers	Technical and Economic Staff
	31 May	30 June	31 May	30 June	30 June	30 June
Prague	357	911	176	274	357	554
Central Bohemia	346	556	136	212	343	213
South Bohemia	275	456	156	206	193	263
West Bohemia	318	568	62	86	380	188
North Bohemia	263	415	108	131	322	93
East Bohemia	225	461	102	162	293	168
South Moravia	745	952	349	498	394	558
North Moravia	1,962	2,490	866	1,132	1,763	727
Czech Republic	4,491	6,809	1,955	2,701	4,045	2,764

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Beginning 30 July, reportage concerning German unification will not be published under the GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC section of the East Europe DAILY REPORT. In order to provide information on the topic in one location for the benefit of our readers, material from the GDR and FRG, as well as other media will be found in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Government Discord Continues Over Accession Date

Coalition on 'Point of Collapse'

LD2307103690 Hamburg DPA in German 0958 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] sees the East Berlin government coalition as on the point of collapse. If Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] is still unwilling to compromise, then it is the "end of the coalition," GDR SPD chief Wolfgang Thierse said to the German Press Agency today after his party's presidium session in Berlin. "We cannot bow to the prime minister's arrogance indefinitely."

At an executive session, which carries on from the presidium session, the SPD intends once again to discuss its further action in the coalition question. Thierse also said that his party will coordinate closely with the Liberals. He is "rather bitter" that the CDU is unwilling to compromise on the disputed accession question. No degree of movement toward a compromise, which is acceptable to everyone, is discernible in De Maiziere's position. The SPD will consider whether there is still a possibility at all of remaining in the coalition. He does not see many possibilities left, Thierse said.

Before the executive session, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel (SPD) stated his readiness to give up his government office. If the coalition breaks down, then the SPD will withdraw its ministers from the government. [passage omitted]

SPD: No Question of Compromise

LD2307110190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1012 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There can be no question of a compromise concerning the motion on the controversial accession issue submitted by Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere in the People's Chamber, Martin Gutzeit, parliamentary business manager of the SPD [Social Democratic Party], said in Berlin today on the sidelines of his party's executive meeting. The voting relationship in parliament is totally unacceptable to the Social Democrats as the coalition partners in the De Maiziere government. The SPD considers the CDU's "hard attitude" on this point incomprehensible and unjustified. This means after all that the PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] has a good chance of entering the Bundestag. Gutzeit wonders whether the CDU intends to renew its old coalition.

The party executive, Gutzeit said, is at present analyzing the situation and will have to draw its conclusions. The parliamentary group executive will also comment on this topic this afternoon. Matters will certainly be discussed again with the Liberals, after which joint action would be taken. No decisions on likely actions have yet been taken by the SPD.

Government Sticks to Treaty Schedule

LD2307133190 Hamburg DPA in German 1302 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Irrespective of the smoldering coalition crisis, the GDR Government continues to adhere to the timetable for the unification treaty with the FRG. This was stated by government spokesman Matthias Gehler, speaking to journalists in East Berlin on Monday. Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) is trying to defuse the conflict through his willingness to talk and to preserve the government with the Social Democrats and Liberals. However, on the issue of the controversial accession date of the GDR to the FRG, no compromise is in sight, Gehler confirmed.

The head of government is in daily telephone contact with federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl whom, after a visit to Austria, he will probably meet in St. Gilgen on Thursday, where Kohl is vacationing. The spokesman expressed the view that a solution for the continued existence of the coalition will have to be found in East Berlin alone. The government crisis is also on tonight's agenda for the regular coalition committee meeting, Gehler said.

SPD Sets Out Coalition Demands

LD2307150790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Movement on the electoral law issue and assurances regarding the unambiguous right to have a voice concerning issues and personnel in the negotiations about the unification treaty are the signals that the GDR Social Democrats expect from Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere. This was made plain by Social Democratic Party [SPD] chairman Wolfgang Thierse, speaking to journalists in Berlin on Monday afternoon after a meeting of the party executive.

The body is worried that the prime minister is acting increasingly as party chairman and less as the prime minister of a grand coalition, Thierse said. The Christian Democratic Union's (CDU) voting conduct yesterday in the people's chamber plenum, when an attempt was made to "vote down" one's own coalition partners, was assessed by the executive "as coalition-destroying conduct."

The signal expected by the SPD should be given by Thursday. However, Thierse intends to keep his hand for coalition negotiations extended since the SPD is pursuing political objectives and is not merely concerned about its own image.

The executive has not laid down a negotiating agenda for the meeting of the coalition committee this evening. There are "too many imponderables."

Earlier an SPD executive spokesman said the SPD considers it insufferable that the CDU, as coalition partner, is counting on the votes of the political opponent, the Party for Democratic Socialism, on an issue crucial for the SPD and Liberals. The executive sees this as an attempt "to use the SPD not as a coalition partner but as a development aid for CDU policies."

SPD, Liberals Not To Attend Meeting

LD2307182390 Hamburg DPA in German 1745 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The representatives of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] and the Liberals are not going to attend the coalition committee session planned for this evening. They agreed on this at a joint meeting. They sent a short letter by messenger to Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere, Christian Democratic Union [CDU], calling on him to recognize the seriousness of the situation and to show greater readiness for compromise.

It emerged that the leadership of the Liberals apparently recommended withdrawal from the coalition if De Maiziere does not show flexibility on the question of accession and does not make a decisive attempt at compromise with the SPD and the Liberals. At the moment, there is "nothing, about which we can talk," said the parliamentary business manager of the Liberals, Conrad-Michael Lehment. He is hoping that De Maiziere will show understanding and offer concessions before the end of this week, or at the latest, before the next session of the coalition committee on Monday. SPD chief Wolfgang Thierse declared it is now up to the prime minister to make "definite concessions" to the coalition partners.

Liberals Letter to De Maiziere

LD2307193890 Hamburg DPA in German 1812 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The letter handed over by the Liberals, which is almost identical to that of the Social Democrats, has the following text:

"To Prime Minister Mr. Lothar de Maiziere:

"Honored Mr. Prime Minister, the executive of the Liberals parliamentary group has decided to send no representative to the meeting of the coalition committee envisaged for this evening, as the situation that has now arisen must first be discussed in the parliamentary group. The parliamentary group's executive has further decided at its meeting today to recommend to the parliamentary group to leave the coalition if no agreement is achieved on the question of accession and electoral procedures through accommodation from the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] parliamentary group. Ensuring equality of election conditions and a genuinely shared quality for the election of the first all-German parliament is for us indispensible. Signed Professor Rainer Ortleb."

The letter from the Social Democratic Party [SPD] to De Maiziere has an almost identical text to that of the Liberals. In addition to the parliamentary group executive, the SPD letter further refers to the party executive, which has also decided at its meeting to recommend withdrawal from the coalition in the event that De Maiziere fails to move on the accession question.

De Maiziere on Election Conditions

AU2307184890 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by ZDF reporter Giselher Suhr in East Berlin on 23 July—recorded]

[Text] [Suhr] Where do you see a key to solving the current problem, in particular that concerning the conditions for the elections?

[De Maiziere] It is my view that the question of the accession and of the date of this accession is a question that has to be decided within this context or afterwards and that such an early—not to say precipitate—statement [on the date of unification] reduces the government's room to maneuver. [sentence as heard] This is my maxim. The issue of the conditions for the elections is not of primary importance for me, but the date will be decisive.

De Maiziere: Coalition Not 'Doomed'

LD2307195790 Hamburg DPA in German 1848 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere has issued a statement expressing regret about the refusal [to take part in a coalition meeting] of the Liberals and the Social Democrats, but said at the same time that he did "not yet regard" the government coalition "as doomed." He pointed out that the Liberals and the SPD [Social Democratic Party] now also had "great hopes" for the meeting of the two committees on German unity.

De Maiziere reaffirmed that he was sticking to the procedure of first concluding the unification treaty; then the still contentious issues would be more easily solved. He said he was continuing to work at the tasks entrusted to him, because he felt he was bound by his oath of office. He did not want to describe the action of the Liberals and the SPD as an ultimatum. If the final aim was difficult, one had first to agree on the mode of procedure. [Hamburg DPA in German at 1906 GMT

adds that "De Maiziere said he also regretted the refusal of the SPD and the Liberals (to take part in the coalition meeting) because other important issues relating to the unification treaty are to be discussed. Among these were the ownership of real estate, the occupancy of housing, and the recognition of GDR professional qualifications in the federal republic.]

De Maiziere on Election Timetable

LD2307200490 Hamburg DPA in German 1906 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] [no dateline as received] De Maiziere announced that he had telephoned Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], in order to express his wish that the period between the announcement and the holding of the elections, set out in the electoral law, be shortened. The interior minister assured him that this was feasible. [passage omitted]

SPD Threatens To Leave Coalition

AU2407094690 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] The GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] leadership will make its continuing in the government coalition conditional on the course of the joint meeting to be held by the two parliamentary Committees on German Unity on Thursday [26 July]. Party Chairman Wolfgang Thierse told journalists in East Berlin this morning that if readiness for compromise on the issue of all-German elections was signaled, the government coalition could continue to discuss this topic. However, if the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] were to play for time once again, the SPD would have to leave the government coalition, Thierse said.

Thierse and Foreign Minister Markus Meckel made it clear that they are seeing no latitude for the Social Democrats on the quarrel about the election laws. They called upon chief of government Lothar de Maiziere once again to move toward the position of the SPD and the Liberals.

The SPD and Liberals in the People's Chamber will be holding separate meetings on the coalition crisis. Their presidiums canceled a meeting with De Maiziere at short notice yesterday [23 July] and recommended resigning from the government coalition if the prime minister were unwilling to make concessions.

De Maiziere SPD, Liberal Leaders Meet

LD2407124590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1156 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Prime Minister Lothar De Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] held a talk this afternoon at the house of the People's Chamber with SPD [Social Democratic Party] chief Wolfgang Thierse, chairman of the SPD parliamentary group Richard Schroeder, and the parliamentary group Richard Schroeder, and the parliamentary business manager of the Liberals, Conrad-Michael Lehment. Journalists, who were not admitted to the meeting, assume that it was decided in which order the prime minister would address the two parliamentary groups threatening to leave the coalition.

It emerged that at 1400, Lothar de Maiziere will attend the meeting of the Liberals parliamentary group, which has moved from the House of the Parliamentarians to the House of the People's Chamber. Afterward, at 1430, he is to meet with the SPD parliamentary group.

Liberals' Condition for Compromise

LD2407124190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Professor Dr. Rainer Ortleb, parliamentary group chairman of the Liberals, claims to see a compromise in the coalition squabble about the GDR's accession date to the FRG. "Providing it is constitutional to hold uniform elections in the two parts of Germany, then the Liberals would be prepared to accept a compromise, irrespective of the accession date," he said before his meeting with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

Coalition Fails To Reach Agreement

AU2407143790 Paris AFP in English 1425 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin, July 24 (AFP)—East Germany's coalition government failed to reach agreement Tuesday in a dispute over the holding of pan-German elections in December, the leader of one of the coalition parties said.

"The fundamental positions (of the parties) are still very far apart," said Social Democratic Party (SPD) president Wolfgang Thierse after a meeting involving representatives of his party, the Liberals and the Christian Democratic Union of Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere.

"I was not able to convince the other parties," said Mr. De Maiziere after the talks.

De Maiziere Discusses Coalition Crisis

AU2307210390 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by ORF reporter Kurt Rammerstorfer in East Berlin on the afternoon of 23 July—recorded]

[Text] [De Maiziere] I will not make any decisions before the unification treaty is concluded, because there are still very important things, which are indispensable in the interest of the people, and which have to be negotiated and agreed on.

[Rammerstorfer] That means that one can still talk with you. Accession before 2 December is conceivable, at least theoretically?

[De Maiziere] Everything is theoretically conceivable, and people can always talk with me. I said, however, that in this question there will not be a final decision before the unification treaty is concluded.

[Rammerstorfer] Nevertheless, the opposition accuses you of being rigid, inflexible, and also authoritarian regarding the question of accession. Doesn't this bother you?

[De Maiziere] In the coalition agreement, the coalition signed what we want to do in terms of contents, and it signed agreeing that the prime minister has the power to establish guidelines. One will have to remind it of this signature. Listen, I have been a lawyer for 15 years, and I learned during my training that the most meager compromise is better than the fattest lawsuit. I know how important a compromise is and I have concluded many agreements and compromises during my life. There is no danger of being unable to come to a compromise. Of course, there are issues where one has to say: This is where I stand, because there is an enormous difference between the ability to make compromises and a lack of principles. And I will certainly not permit being accused of the latter.

[Rammerstorfer] The Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and the Liberals are now openly threatening to leave the government. Do you believe that the coalition can still be saved?

[De Maiziere] I think that it would be very difficult for the Social Democrats and the Liberals to leave the coalition, because then one would have to show them the coalition agreement and the tasks which we agreed on jointly—that is, to organize the orderly growing together of the two German states. One has to think very carefully about defecting in view of such an historically important task because of egotism.

[Rammerstorfer] But the SPD is now also accusing the Christian Democratic Union of Germany of having broken the coalition agreement.

[De Maiziere] Where? You know, in such a context—and there the East is a bit sensitive—I always recommend studying the documents thoroughly. There it says that the coalition parties have agreed to discuss motions jointly before they are taken to the People's Chamber, to make them ready for consensus, and to send them to parliament afterwards. Both the motion of the Liberals as well as the rather unfinished draft of an election law by the Social Democrats were introduced in the People's Chamber without resorting to these agreed bodies. If one does not even attempt to make use of the possibilities to heal the conflict, but perhaps wants to bring about confrontation with one's actions, one must not be surprised that majorities develop that show one one's place.

[Rammerstorfer] Would you also continue as head of a minority government?

[De Maiziere] I do not discuss any negative aspects as long as the situation has not occurred. I proceed from the premise that the Liberals and the Social Democrats have their tasks. They would have to make it very clear that they no longer want to remember the obligation they have accepted.

SPD Executive Nominates All-German Candidates

LD2307211190 Hamburg DPA in German 1942 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The national executive of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] had a session on Tuesday, at which it nominated its candidates for the joint executive of the two Social Democratic parties. According to the SPD press office, SPD chief Wolfgang Thierse was proposed as deputy chairman of an all-German SPD. The press office said that the other candidates for a ten-strong executive include former Chairman Ibrahim Boehme, Deputy GDR SPD Chairman Karl-August Kamilli, and GDR Labor Minister Regine Hildebrandt.

German Unity Committee Joint Session 26 Jul

LD2307173290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1642 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The Bundestag and People's Chamber German Unity Committees are to meet in Bonn on Thursday to discuss the election of the first All-German parliament. Bundestag President Rita Suessmuth said in Bonn today that following initial separate discussions, federal Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble will brief both bodies together on the state of the negotiations on the unification treaty.

Referring to the People's Chamber motion for the question of the accession and the electoral procedures to be handed over to the committees, Frau Suessmuth said that decisions cannot be taken in the committees, they can only be discussed here. In order to solve the problem of the accession of the GDR to the FRG, "an agreement" will have to be reached "either before or afterward."

De Maiziere on Austrian Ties, Agriculture

AU2407091890 Vienna PROFIL in German 23 Jul 90 pp 50-51

[Interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Fred David in East Berlin; date not given: "We Must Accept the Labor Pains"]

[Text] [David] You are coming to Vienna on Wednesday [25 July]. This is one of your few state visits during your term of office. Why are you visiting Austria of all countries?

[De Maiziere] We have always maintained close ties with Austria. Vice Chancellor Riegler and also the chancellor have invited me to visit their country. It seems important to me that the five new laender to be founded on present-day GDR territory maintain particularly good relations with Austria. I am also a musician, which implies a certain affinity with Vienna. Somebody who does not love Viennese classical music is not a musician.

[David] How do you want to console Vienna in view of the fact that Berlin will take over its role as meeting point between the East and West?

[De Maiziere] Vienna, which has produced so many diplomats, will certainly know how to develop new policies. By the way, there will be an excellent triad between Vienna, Prague, and Berlin.

[David] Are you completely satisfied with last week's meeting between Kohl and Gorbachev?

[De Maiziere] The most difficult question was Germany's future alliance membership. Prior to the summit, there were noisy statements about the different plans. The issues under discussion were Germany's sovereignty, the elimination of the rights of the four victor powers, and finally troop strength. These three important questions have been settled in an acceptable manner for all sides.

[David] "Acceptable" does not really sound enthusiastic.

[De Maiziere] It has always been important for the GDR not to find a solution that is merely acceptable for the Soviet Union, but one which the Soviet Union supports. As President Gorbachev clearly stated, he sees the interests of the USSR sufficiently ensured.

[David] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR will be completed by 1994. Do you think that three years will be sufficient?

[De Maiziere] The agreement on the withdrawal of troops was the most important decision. We will see whether this can be carried out within three years. After all, half a million people are involved who must be reintegrated in the USSR. An unbelievable amount of equipment is to be removed as well. In addition, ecological aspects must also be taken into consideration in the troop withdrawal. Problems will certainly arise here.

[David] What problems?

[De Maiziere] There are hundreds of tanks with dangerous substances in the whole country that have to be removed.

[David] Including poison gas?

[De Maiziere] We proceed from the assumption that no biological or chemical weapons are stored on GDR territory.

[David] Talks in Moscow largely focused on the territory of the present-day GDR. Did you really learn about the talks from the television news?

[De Maiziere] This is not correct. Chancellor Kohl and I are constantly in contact. I myself held talks with Gorbachev twice during my term of office. It was always clear to us that we would not allow troops headed by a joint commander in chief on GDR territory. Our proposals were take into consideration in Moscow.

[David] Were you disappointed that Kohl did not have time for a stopover in Berlin to provide first-hand information to the second German head of government on the agreements that are vital for your country?

[De Maiziere] Do not try to discover disappointment where there is none.

[David] The week before last Defense Minister Eppelmann spoke of an explosive situation in the Soviet barracks. There was even one case in which the soldiers were disarmed by officers to prevent a disaster. Was this development one of the reasons for the USSR giving up its stubborn political position overnight and agreeing to a complete withdrawal?

[De Maiziere] The situation is clear after the talks in Moscow. This is the most important thing.

[David] Are the Soviets in full control of their units in the barracks in the GDR?

[De Maiziere] As far as I know, there is no danger that the situation is getting out of control. I do not want to conjure up conflicts.

[David] Another important issue in the GDR is the situation in the sphere of agriculture. Peasants are suddenly confronted with immense competition from the EC, resulting in nobody buying GDR products any longer. Were you taken by surprise by this development?

[De Maiziere] We proceeded from the assumption that it would be possible to set up a green border, at the beginning at least, to ease pressure on the GDR market; however, this did not work. There is also a logical explanation for the present tense situation in agriculture: Biological process cannot be controlled by man. Cherries become ripe at a certain time of the year, and not all the year round. We must not overdramatize the situation. The government made a number of decisions recently that will lead to a tangible improvement in the situation.

[David] There are a number of agricultural enterprises in the GDR that have an advantage as compared with small Western enterprises, in the production of meat, for example. Does the West want to get rid of this competition? Is this the reason for Western enterprises to push their way into this market?

[De Maiziere] We are currently analyzing every individual enterprise on the basis of market criteria. This applies both to costs and to dangers for the environment,

in the form of liquid manure, for example. We will quickly help enterprises that can be made fit for the EC with additional means. Enterprises that operate uneconomically will have to be closed down. People are not unqualified or lazy. They have to deal with disastrous planning errors of the old regime. In agriculture, the production of plants and the production of animals were separate branches. This is nonsense from an economic viewpoint, which we find very difficult to correct.

[David] You have been in office for 100 days now. When assuming office, you stated that unification must be carried out as soon as possible and in the best possible way. Is this still true?

[De Maiziere] Yes, I think so. It was necessary to decide in favor of the market economy if we wanted unity. We did this with the state treaty. There were two possibilities: A lengthy procedure with prolonged pain or a short sharp shock. We voted for the second option.

[David] Has the GDR already entered the painful phase?

[De Maiziere] Yes, but one can formulate it in a way that is more encouraging for the people: There are women who gladly go through labor pains if they can give birth to a healthy child.

[David] The FRG has remained stable since the war particularly because the laender were strong. Laender do not yet exist in the GDR. They must be hastily founded. Do you think that this might be a congenital defect?

[De Maiziere] You cannot put the question this way. The GDR was subdivided into individual laender until 1953. At that time the rulers wanted to destroy regional identity by doing away with the laender. Only thus could the centralized system work. Since November we have known how strongly people are linked with their region. As a matter of fact, we were surprised about the intensity of these feelings. A person from Thuringia is above all conscious of being a Thuringian, and a persons from Saxony a Saxon. Deep emotions are involved here. I am not in the least afraid that people have not realized the basic meaning of a federal structure.

[David] Do you think that it will be possible to establish working administrations in the various laender within such a short period of time?

[De Maiziere] This will and must work because we need the individual laender governments by all means. Because of the peaceful character of our revolution, the old structures have not been eliminated everywhere. This problem can be solved through the establishment of new administrations.

[David] Are former members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] now being excluded?

[De Maiziere] In this country of 16 million people, 2.3 million were members of the SED. We cannot deny them the right to a reasonable future. This would create permanent tensions in our country.

[David] In the FRG, leading politicians openly talk about the stiff broom with which the country will be swept once unity is achieved.

[De Maiziere] So long as the GDR exists as a state, it will decide in a sovereign way who will be installed in what position.

[David] In the GDR People's Chamber, many deputies want to make a decision on accession already at this point, not after all-German elections on 2 December. You are vehemently opposed to this. Why?

[De Maiziere] Because in this way the GDR Government would immediately be subject to the FRG Basic Law and would be governed and represented by the FRG Government, a government that has not been elected by the people in our country.

[David] In your speeches you have frequently pointed out that German unification must be carried out with dignity. Are you missing this dignity?

[De Maiziere] We must negotiate a unification treaty with the FRG, and we must do this as a sovereign state. This must be ensured from a legal viewpoint, and it must take place with dignity.

[David] You once stated that the new Germany will become more Protestant, and that it will be closer to the East. Will there also be a shift toward the left?

[De Maiziere] It will be closer to the East because through our separation from the West we have developed strong relations with the East, including human relations. This applies both to the economy and culture. The new Germany will become more Protestant, because five times more Protestants than Catholics are living in the GDR today. However, ties with the church are no longer so strong in the GDR because two generations underwent atheist education.

[David] Not even in the Vatican are there so many priests engaged in politics as in the GDR.

[De Maiziere] The reason may be that priests have larger audiences if they engage in politics than if they preach in churches.

[David] Will there also be a shift toward the left in Germany?

[De Maiziere] Did you see a landslide victory for the left in the elections?

[David] The enormous support for the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is deceptive because a large part of the GDR's CDU might vote for the SPD in the FRG.

[De Maiziere] The GDR's CDU is certainly more leftist than the CDU in the FRG. However, what I consider more important is that the average age of our leaders is much lower than in the FRG. My government includes state secretaries that are under 30, and I myself, at 50 years of age, will certainly be one of the youngest

members of an all-German CDU presidium. It seems that people in the FRG think that a person does not develop his full capacities before retirement age. In any case, a merger will be good for the two parties.

[David] You are an ardent advocate of Berlin as the capital of the future Germany. Do you think that this issues has already been decided?

[De Maiziere] Yes, I think so. What we are witnessing now are rearguard actions of the lobby that favors Bonn.

[David] How is Mr. Honecker? Have you spoken to him recently?

[De Maiziere] I am not really interested in such contacts.

[David] There have been reports that before unity is achieved he wants to travel to Chile where his daughter lives. Would you allow him to emigrate?

[De Maiziere] I know about these reports. However, legal investigations are currently being carried out against him.

[David] So, no crumb of charity for Honecker in Chile?

[De Maiziere] Not until investigations have been concluded.

Eppelmann Discusses Unification, NVA

AU2307161190 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 23 Jul 90 pp 33-37

[Interview with Disarmament and Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann by Ulrich Schwarz and Wolfram Bickerich in Hamburg; date not given: "This Is Incredibly Beautiful"]

[Excerpts] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Eppelmann, Germany is to be united on 2 December at the latest, perhaps even 24 hours before that. Is this too fast for you?

[Eppelmann] This is too fast, and not only for me. Some others will also find out over the next few weeks that this is too fast. Understanding all the concerns, I must say that the problems that we now face are not solved just by making Germany a political unit. The economic, monetary, social, and ecological union, which has now been initiated, will give rise to not only quite a number of problems, but also, of course, to decisive progress. But Germany's political unification would actually still need some time. We have differed too much for 40 years for this. There are no conditions in our country which can be compared with yours.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does the situation in the GDR not require haste? There is legal uncertainty. Social unrest is imminent. Is it not true that a little bit of unification is like being a little bit pregnant?

[Eppelmann] I am not for a little bit of unification. I proceed from the premise that German unification is a process; unity cannot be said to occur at a specific historical point and then it is there. We will not have it on 2 December either. Under the most favorable circumstances, we will then have two very different parts of a united country, which offer their citizens very different opportunities. To assume that everything will then be settled is an illusion.

[DER SPIEGEL] No one believes this. But it is the most important step toward equal opportunities. It is proof of belonging together.

[Eppelmann] By far, we do not have a united country in the feelings of the people, in what constitutes their everyday life. There is no unity in the expectations of the future. The opportunities to make progress in one's job, to express one's political views, or to influence political decisionmaking are unequal. I am trying to imagine that on 2 December the newly elected premier of Saxony will have had two cabinet meetings in the most favorably case, and then he will start the election campaign with these mostly politically inexperienced people.

[DER SPIEGEL] He could, for instance, take some of the current People's Chamber deputies or cabinet members who are in office now.

[Eppelmann] Yes. But they, too, are greenhorns compared with the people in the Bundestag or in the Diets. Just imagine: "Apothecary XYZ, who became premier of Thuringia, sits together with Mr. Spaeth and the other gentlemen. Of course, everyone will try to get the best for his country—this is the assignment of his voters. How great, do you think, are the chances of the Thuringian apothecary?

[DER SPIEGEL] You are afraid that your people have no chance?

[Eppelmann] This is unavoidable.

[DER SPIEGEL] How should one have proceeded with German unification?

[Eppelmann] So far, nothing decisive has been done wrong, in my view, if I think of the economic, monetary, social, and ecological union. Everywhere things have to be tied together and differences have to be reduced. Even more has to be done. We have to look at the school textbooks and at the organizational structures: What about sports associations? What about culture? What about everything connected with the people's leisure time?

[DER SPIEGEL] You have achieved more in one year than during the 40 years before.

[Eppelmann] Certainly. But I would like to give the GDR citizens the chance to come to terms with their 40 years a bit better than has been the case so far; for instance, in dealing with their own guilt or innocence over the past 40 years. What about the judges and the public prosecutors? What about the journalists, teachers, soldiers, the employees of the GDR State Security Service? My great concern now is that others will decide on

this. I feel very uncomfortable—to put it mildly—when I think about the fact that the judge in Koblenz has to decide how justly or unjustly the judges in Dresden or Rostock passed their sentences.

[DER SPIEGEL] The "others" would be, after all, the all-German sovereign, the united parliament.

[Eppelmann] That is the point. The GDR still has much cleaning up to do.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you want to counteract the trend? Can anything actually be stopped in this connection?

[Eppelmann] It is incredibly difficult, because the established big parties and forces in both parts think: The people want it and now it must be so. I do not know whether the people really want this or whether they have been partly persuaded to this effect.

[DER SPIEGEL] The governments—you belong to one of them—rely on speed.

[Eppelmann] I do not really know what one is hoping for at the moment from this great haste. There will be unemployment; there will be demands for higher wages, which I understand but which are, nevertheless, economically impossible because they endanger jobs to an unimaginable degree. All this cannot be solved by all-German elections, in my view. Economic differences between Cologne and Dresden will continue to exist for years. They will be reduced, regardless of whether we hold all-German elections on 2 December or not.

[DER SPIEGEL] But then the elections would not do any damage either.

[Eppelmann] In the past, one took a little more time getting to know one another before going to bed than one does today. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] If things went as you want them to, what would the election law be like for the all-German elections?

[Eppelmann] I am very close to the ideas of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. It is important to me that activists from Alliance 90, such as the priest Hans-Jochen Tschiche or Konrad Weiss, get the opportunity to influence politics in the united Germany. With all due modesty, I dare point out how important it was that, despite all the rough edges which I obviously have and which have hurt others, I have not disappeared over the past six or seven months and now perhaps still have six or seven months time to contribute the things that are important to me. These are important grains of salt.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the event of a joint five-percent clause, all civil activists will be out of parliament. In case of a separate election law, this will probably also happen, but the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] will be in it. Do you want this?

[Eppelmann] The civil rights movements should at least have a chance. And, excuse me, but I am not in favor of generally throwing out the PDS members. Almost 2 million GDR citizens voted for them at the People's Chamber elections. I do not want to send those to Greenland. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] We mostly see you during visits to the troops, surrounded by generals. What are you doing to really disarm?

[Eppelmann] In the material-technical area, for instance, we have cut our budget by more than 30 percent. We have negotiated with the Soviet Union and we have canceled previously concluded contracts for missiles, for instance. We will probably have to pay contractual penalties. We are genuinely disarming, unlike others who, by way of modernization, try to increase the actual combat strength of the Army.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would there not be a good opportunity now for a trained pacifist to eliminate the National People's Army [NVA] once and for all?

[Eppelmann] The process of German unification is to promote the process of European unification and not to impede it. During my talks in the East and West, I have learned that a neutralization or demilitarization of even a part of Germany would currently not meet with the approval by any other country. I have learned over the past six months that disarmament has to take place in a controlled manner, in agreement with neighbors and allies.

I put myself in the place of the Soviet Union: They lost the NVA. At the moment of Germany's political unification, the NVA will secede from the Warsaw Pact. It had an authorized strength of 168,000. We voluntarily reduced it to 135,000; even this strength does not exist at the moment. The effective strength is 98,000 at the moment. If they now are added to NATO, the Soviet Union has not only lost 98,000 friends in its view, but has possibly got 98,000 more enemies; that is, it has achieved a deficit of 196,000. However, we have to avoid German unification in December 1990 becoming a Versailles for the Soviet Union. This would be a bad start for a new and united Europe.

[DER SPIEGEL] What would be the purpose of such an NVA? What would be its tasks?

[Eppelmann] It has the same military task as the Territorial Army West between Elbe and Rhine. It does not belong to an alliance; it is put under the control of a national high command. In line with today's understanding of the state, it is something like clothing to prevent the state from feeling naked.

[DER SPIEGEL] In the past, Father Eppelmann preached that the soldiers have to be eliminated and the Army abolished, that swords must be transformed into ploughshares.

[Eppelmann] I still believe this. Disarmament can promote peace only if it takes place in a serious, agreed, and economically and socially compatible way. My dream is still that of not only a Germany without arms, but a Europe without arms. My hope would be that the military in Europe will be at least very much reduced within this century. I have the impression that we are on the best path toward this at the moment.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will you do when you are no longer minister? Will you become the commander in chief of the territorial army? Do you like dealing with soldiers?

[Eppelmann] Becoming a military commander in chief is nothing that would tempt me terribly. This is some sort of additional bonus. What I like about this task are two things: first, the political assignment to participate in shaping and in building; contributing a bit of what has been important to 16 million GDR citizens to a united Germany; and second, a human task. I feel called upon by the members and employees of the NVA. I want them to be treated fairly. Therefore, I am against it when one hears from the FRG Defense Ministry that we could reach the future upper limits of the German Army by leaving the Bundeswehr at almost what it is today and achieve disarmament by reducing the NVA to zero. This is impossible—if two German republics really are to grow together. [passage omitted]

Opinion Poll Shows 85 Percent Decline NATO

AU2407100890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21-22 Jul 90 p 1

["ND" report: "Opinion Poll in the GDR: 85 Percent Reject Membership in NATO"]

[Excerpts] More than 85 percent of GDR citizens advocate membership of the united Germany in a European security system. That is the result of the provisional evaluation of an opinion poll made by the Berlin-based Social Analysis Foundation. Out of the more than 1,000 persons randomly interviewed, only 13.8 percent, or every seventh person, is in favor of the united Germany's membership in NATO. Almost all of those polled reject membership in the Warsaw Pact or in both alliance systems.

The basic tendency of the GDR citizens opinion on the alliance issue is largely clear. It is also largely identical with the tendency resulting from earlier opinion polls. However, on the other hand, this tendency has apparently increased: A clear majority of the GDR citizens obviously considers a general break with the past security and alliance structures appropriate. The unification of Germany is being considered an opportunity for a new beginning in Germany's and Europe's security policy. [passage omitted]

All the more logical is the demand made by the Party of Democratic Socialism and a number of citizens movements to make the issue the subject of a referendum.

Development Projects Examined for Feasibility

AU2407133690 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 18 Jul 90 p 5

[Regina S. Villavicencio report: "How Is Our Development Aid Developing?"]

[Excerpts] The gauge of development policy must not be ideologies and philosophies, but the most effective possibilities for improving the living conditions of the people in the Third World, believes Economic Cooperation Minister Werner Ebeling, who also recommends this position to his 103 staff members. [passage omitted]

Currently the GDR's 3,600 development projects in 105 countries are being examined for their further feasibility; they are subdivided into three categories—projects that must be continued, projects that will possibly be continued, and projects that will have to be discontinued. Among the latter are "political projects" such as support for repressive structures. For instance, the project for setting up a state security system in Nicaragua according to the GDR pattern has been halted. [passage omitted]

The projects that will be continued include, in Nicaragua, the Jinotepe vocational training center and the Managua "Carlos Marx" hospital. Ebeling said that the hospital would probably not have been built if former President Ortega had pursued a different political line.

Minister Ebeling also mentioned the close cooperation with his West German counterpart Juergen Warnke, even though there are differences between them. Both ministries have set up joint working groups, and plan to cooperate in selected projects in developing countries. Six bodies will discuss joint concepts and concerted possibilities of aid for Nicaragua, Namibia, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Cuba, and Mongolia. Cooperation on specific projects in Nicaragua (see above) and forestry projects in Vietnam have been agreed upon. Possible joint projects in Namibia, Pakistan, and Mauritania are also being considered. [passage omitted]

East Berlin To Have Own Constitution

LD2307140590 Hamburg DPA in German 1329 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (DPA)—East Berlin will get its own constitution on Tuesday. The document gives the eastern part of the city the rights of a land. The East Berlin Magistrate and the City Assembly agreed this today with the Ministry for Regional and Local Affairs. The new constitution will come into force with its publication in the magistrate's gazette tomorrow, and will remain valid until a newly elected all-Berlin assembly meets. [passage omitted]

Unlike the other newly formed GDR laender, East Berlin will not hold its elections on 14 October. The elections to

an all-Berlin city parliament will take place at the same time as the all-German elections on 2 December, the magistrat confirmed.

Constitution Signed Into Law

LD2307161290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Berlin is the first GDR land to have a valid constitution. In the Red Town today, presidium members and Mayor Tino Schwierzina (SPD) [Social Democratic Party] signed the document decided on 11 July by the City Assembly.

Earlier, the magistrate once again came to an understanding with the minister for regional and local affairs about the legal differences of opinion that had come to light in the past week. With the coming into force of the constitution, the competence and responsibility of the minister end, it was stated. The takeover or handover of land authorities (for instance police, justice, educational, academic, and cultural sovieregnty) are to take place "sensitively" in negotiations between the mayor of Berlin and the government of the GDR. The constitution is an important step toward the full unity of the city, Schwierzina said after the signing.

The election of an all-Berlin city parliament is due to take place on 2 December, together with the all-German elections. With the meeting of a newly elected all-Berlin popular representative body, the constitution will cease to have effect.

Romberg Pledges Loan Guarantee for Cities

AU2307145890 East Berlin NEUES ZEIT in German 18 Jul 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Financial Guarantee for Big Cities"]

[Text] Berlin—Finance Minister Walter Romberg told the chief mayors of seven GDR cities that they would get a guaranteed loan of 1.86 billion Deutsche marks for financing housing construction. Following the conference of the mayors of Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, Halle, Magdeburg, Potsdam, and Rostock, he said at a news conference on Tuesday [17 July] that the guarantee would be given on the basis of the State Treaty. He said that it would be given for the next three months until all the legal aspects were clarified.

Pohl: Declining Orders Hurting Small Enterprises

AU2407073390 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Report by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reporter Staude: "Difficult Situation in Orders as a Result of a Destabilized Market"]

[Text] Berlin—Opening the "Economy House" in Berlin on Tuesday [17 July], Economics Minister Gerhard Pohl said that the GDR is currently experiencing a period of rapid industrial expansion. He added that more than 63,500 firms of different sizes—including combines and state enterprises that have been transformed and decentralized—have been established in the GDR since early July.

Responding to a NEUES DEUTSCHLAND question about how the promotion of medium-sized enterprises is compatible with the fact that so far 30,000 jobs have been eliminated, the economics minister said that it is not easy for new companies to fully grasp the meaning of the currency conversion in effect since 1 July: "The most difficult problem right now is the situation in orders." Pohl said that owing to the destabilized situation on the domestic market, the orders on hand in some small trade enterprises are declining. He said that it is necessary in this area to provide small trade enterprises with "confidence" and "new orders" by stabilizing the domestic market.

The new "Economy House" in Berlin is intended to serve as an action, communication, and advanced training center for medium-sized companies. The Berlin institution is considered the prototype of similar centers to be set up in all kreis cities. The "House" will also offer a "tax adviser day," "environment days," or "product design days." Let us hope that we are spared a "administrator in bankruptcy proceedings days."

100,482 Apply for Trade Permits

LD2307161490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1532 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the first six months of the year, 100,482 applications for trading permits have been registered in the GDR Economics Ministry, of which 46,364 relate to the retail trade and the catering sector and 18,399 to crafts and trades. The ministry announced in Berlin today that to date 1,102 concerns have been reprivatized, including 144 in the Suhl Area [bezirk], 135 in the Dresden Area and 133 in the Halle Area. A further 8,993 applications had been made for reprivatization, with the Chemnitz Area in the lead with 2,610 applications, followed by the Leipzig Area with 1,400 and the Dresden Area with 1,296.

PDS Releases Report on Party Finances

LD2307195190 Hamburg DPA in German 1737 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] successor party PDS [Party for Democratic Socialism] submitted today in East Berlin its asset report in accordance with the law calling for the publicizing of party finances. The report is based on the SED's final accounts (up to 31 December 1989) and the final accounts of the PDS (up to 30 June 1990). After the dissolution of funds amounting to 3.2 million GDR marks and 75.8 million valuta marks, the PDS has capital and reserves (loans and shares in enterprises)

amounting to approximately 3.1 bilion GDR marks and there are "no financial or material valuables or stocks" beside this.

Since the beginning of the year, party assets have fallen by 65.6 percent, and in the same period membership fell from 1.5 million to 350,500. [passage omitted]

PDS May Form Alliance With FRG Left

AU2407093090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jul 90 p 1

["ND" report: "Election Alliance With FRG Leftists"]

[Text] Berlin—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] intends to form an election alliance with FRG leftist forces if a united election area is created and the 5-percent clause applied. That was decided by the PDS Presidium over the weekend [21-22 July]. The presidium also stressed that the party is basically opposed to a restrictive clause in the elections because this is an undemocratic practice, under which hundreds of thousands of votes are lost. At a news conference on the sideline of the meeting, party chairman Gregor Gysi also said that in a united election area there are no equal opportunities because the GDR parties have to join in a Bundestag election campaign that is in full swing. He said that under the current conditions, only elections in separate election areas are practicable, in which each side determines its own conditions.

However, because the party has to prepare for every election procedure that the government may think up, the presidium discussed with West German leftists, who were present as guests, initial ideas regarding an alliance of the PDS and the Left List. We are not a broad movement in the FRG, said editor Heinrich Eckhoff of the Communist League from Hamburg. We are individual persons representing certain fields within the FRG's left spectrum. We advocate struggling for the survival of socialist ideas. We have a small chance, added the journalist Christiane Reymann of the Socialist Forum from Hamburg. To take this chance is a ray of hope that we will be able to develop a movement. The FRG leftists intend to continue the discussion on this topic at a meeting in Cologne on 28-29 July.

Republicans Fail To Set Up Thuringian Group

LD2307170590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1610 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Gotha (ADN)—The police announced today that an attempt to found a Thuringian Land association of republicans failed in Gotha on Sunday. Around 40 mostly young people had gathered in the inn "Zur Tanne" in Schnepfenthal near Gotha yesterday afternoon with this in mind.

The gathering at the inn had been arranged four weeks previously, under the guise of a family celebration. Only yesterday did the real reason emerge. The chief administrative officer in Gotha, brought in to deal with the matter, declared the gathering illegal and it was dispersed without incident. The police are currently considering further measures against the participants.

Terrorist Abu Dawud's Trace Found in East Berlin

AU2307163990 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 18 Jul 90 p 1

["opz"-signed report: "Dawud's Trace in Prenzlauer Berg"]

[Text] East Berlin—The trace of suspected Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Dawud leads deep into the East Berlin district of Prenzlauer Berg. According to information received by DER MORGEN, Dawud a.k.a. Abu Tarek had a second hideout a few dozen meters from the Prenzlauer Allee railroad station.

The cover address in the center of East Berlin's "scene district" was 178 Prenzlauer Allee. This accommodation, which was possibly used in emergencies, was excellently chosen by the 53-year-old chief of "Al Fatah," the strongest PLO faction, and could not have been more inconspicuous. Via the Kanzow Strasse entrance, the Fatah leader was able to reach his apartment directly under the roof of the house unnoticed through a desolate backyard. According to people living in the front part of the house, it has always been unknown who lived in this side wing of the building. Reportedly, Dawud repeatedly used the taxi station directly in front of the entrance of the house when he needed a taxi for trips between the Palasthotel and Kanzow Strasse.

According to documents of the former Ministry for State Security, Dawud, who is considered the wire-puller of the massacre of Israeli athletes during the 1982 Olympic Games—however, there is no evidence against him—and who survived an attack in Warsaw in 1981, stayed in the Palsthotel for the first time in July 1978. Since 1981 Dawud a.k.a. Tarek lived in apartment 8078 of this hotel. DER MORGEN has learned that the Fatah chief has not been registered in the hotel's guest register since the political changes started in the GDR. In the meantime, the hotel's protocol chief has stated that Tarek had not been a VIP guest, nor had his true identity been known.

However, DER MORGEN has obtained information that the Palasthotel knew very well who the Arab guest was in reality.

There have reportedly been disciplinary consequences in the case of a chambermaid, because she chatted about "Mr. Tarek's true identity" outside the hotel. In addition, Abu Dawud did not have the reputation of a man who celebrated "wild orgies with champagne and prostitutes." On the contrary, Dawud had always acted as a very solid businessman, it was said.

*** Wolf Comments on Stasi, Views His Own Status**

90GE0211A East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jul 90 p 9

[Interview with Marcus Wolf, former head of the MfS (Minstry for State Security) Main Administration for Intelligence, by Rene Heilig and Rainer Funke; place and date not given: "What's Becoming of Your Operatives, General?"]

[Text] [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Mr. Wolf, for decades, many a person would have offered large sums for the smallest photo of you, and for the past few months, you have been seeking the limelight, in words and pictures, you've been conducting a sort of media marathon. Is all this exposure a sort of protection for you in these times?

[Wolf] I don't see it that way. I'm not looking for media attention. The media are looking for me. Until just a few days ago, I've been working on my book. That has taken up so much of my time that these media activities are really not my doing, for the most part. To be sure, in recent weeks, when my name was mentioned in the West as well as in the GDR in connection with the capture of former RAF [Red Army Faction] members on GDR territory, I felt compelled to say something on this issue.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Well, the situation seems fairly clear. Now, not only the FRG's border security forces know that you're wanted. Page 1542 of the FRG's list of the most wanted is devoted to Markus Wolf. Do they know more?

[Wolf] Thus far, I haven't given the matter much thought, because I operate on the assumption that this West German legislation not only applies to me, but to all former members of the Intelligence Department. If the FRG wanted to persist in maintaining its position, that would mean that West German laws would apply *ex post facto* to citizens of the GDR. These people, however, acted in accordance with the constitution and laws of their country, and they performed activities at the behest of their government that are performed by all the intelligence services in all the larger countries I know of. Interpreting the FRG's constitution in such a manner has always seemed absurd to me.

Not long ago, I had a conversation with a former CIA director, the director of the French, and the director of the Israeli intelligence services. If the laws were interpreted in a similar fashion in their cases, all these men and their colleagues would all be indicted.

The West German legal position rests on sole representation for all the German people. It is my view that as unification deliberations progress, and that means the creation of legal parity in this instance, this question will have to be resolved in such a way that criminal prosecution of citizens of the GDR ex post facto will not be possible. But, given the fact that reunification is progressing at great speed, I am certainly interested in clarifying the question, insofar as it pertains to me. And so, I have instructed my attorney to look into the files. In doing so, I am sure that nothing more than this blanket interpretation of West German laws will stick to my shoes.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] As far as we know, the FRG has not issued an extradition order, or, as you put it, a writ of surrender to the Attorney General's Office in the GDR. On the contrary, from what one can glean from Bonn's government offices, the GDR has no great interest in ordering the return of people in whom it is interested. We are thinking of Schalck-Golodkowski. Do you see any connection there?

[Wolf] I don't see any connection. But again: I consider the creation of legal parity a highly important issue that will have to be hammered out by the competent agencies, and by that I mean governmental agencies of the FRG and the GDR. These issues cannot be allowed to become a permanent problem. They cannot become a focal point of mistrust.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] ...the subject for a second Treaty of State?

[Wolf] Yes, I think so. Many legal issues will have to be clarified.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You have just told colleagues of ours from DER SPIEGEL that once unification of the two German states is achieved, you will make yourself available to the legal authorities.

[Wolf] I have no intention of leaving Germany, for anyplace else, whatsoever.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Not even for a cinder-block hut in Siberia?

[Wolf] I'm not saying I would turn myself in on the first day of unification to I don't know whom—to whomever the responsible authorities are—to the State's Attorney's Office, I suppose. I would bide my time for a while and wait for things to start happening to me. But I'm fairly certain it won't come to that.

The other issue in that conjunction, the fate of those who worked for this service in the West. From what I hear from West German politicians and other competent people, I gather that in the interest of future internal peace, the search is on for a solution regarding these people, who are now subject to the threat of criminal prosecution, whether that solution take the form of a general amnesty, or a proclamation of freedom from punishment under certain conditions.

These people acted in the belief that they were working on behalf of a good cause, and they should not be held responsible for any bad policies the GDR pursued, or for what happened in terms of internal repression. That is not necessarily part and parcel of legal parity, but it must be resolved legally from the West German side. Some sort of clarification would have to be reached with those

who dissolved the MfS [Ministry for State Security], some sort of assurances would have to be given that intelligence-gathering activities have ceased and that no plans exist to resuscitate such activities in the future, that is, that the legitimate security interests of the Federal Republic, and later, those of a unified Germany, would be protected.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] It is true that the Federal Republic's Attorney General Rebmann has gone into retirement, but his successor also seems interested in putting you into the dock...

[Wolf] Since this RAF business has been resolved in such a way that it has become apparent neither I, nor the service for which I was responsible, had anything to do with it, I have not found such intent in the remarks made by the new Federal Attorney General.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Suppose there actually is a trial. What would you expect? Acquittal?

[Wolf] I refuse to engage in any speculation on that point whatsoever. I would have a good attorney, and I believe that the good sense of the politicians and the jurists would not let it come to actual sentencing. Otherwise, for the sake of my former colleagues, I would be willing to let such an investigation reveal what it might about me, and bear the consequences. It would be a case of precedent. In the event of a negative outcome, several thousand citizens of the GDR or former citizens of the GDR would be affected, who would be ex post facto indicted for something that they did on the basis of the constitution and laws of their country.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] If a trial were the result, wouldn't you fear being confronted by witnesses for the prosecution, by that I mean, former employees who have turned state's evidence?

[Wolf] It's true, I would have to deal with that eventuality, but they would all be impeachable witnesses.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Well, there have been lots of defectors....

[Wolf] As far as the intelligence gathering service is concerned, I won't confirm that, but then again, I don't really have an exact overview of the situation; I can only conclude indirectly from published stories about arrests, and I'm fairly certain on this point, that the vast majority of former HVA employees will not tread the same path that some individual traitors have taken, not even in the dire straits they now find themselves in. That situation has to do with the undifferentiated incorporation of the HVA [Main Administration for Training (People's Police)]into the activities of the Ministry as a whole, with the consequences of the understandably great anger on the part of many people in our country against the injustice and repression that occurred as a part of the old regime.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You have intimated that you know much more than other former officials. What do you mean by that?

[Wolf] The important thing, of course, is knowledge about people who conspired and cooperated with the HVA. And now, everyone is expecting me to make a major revelation. It runs counter to all the accepted norms of this kind of work, and it runs counter to my own, personal moral views to deliver up to the slaughter those who have entrusted their security and well-being to the Agency.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Could the Federal Republic be interested in such cases in any way?

[Wolf] I don't think so. Such a revelation would lead to mistrust in the long run, insecurity, even danger, not only for those who pursued these activities. To be sure, there is a legitimate interest from the West German side, that such activities be discontinued, and that people not remain in particularly sensitive posts, and that they never again work in intelligence-gathering services. Phantom numbers, of up to 10,000 agents are being bandied about. If real numbers were put up against those phantom numbers, no further progress would be made. No trust would be created, nor would this problem be solved. So, other paths have to be taken.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Now it's said you baled out as of 5 February 1987....

[Wolf] De facto, it was September 1986.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] At the time, ADN [German General News Service] wrote "for health-related reasons." Why did you really unbuckle your general's sword-belt?

[Wolf] I could make this easy on myself and say it was all the policies, the entire system that no longer suited me. But that would be too easy. There was a wide variety of reasons that made me hand in my retirement papers right after my 60th birthday, that was January 1983. But it took a little longer.

It's hard to describe it briefly, simply because the path to self-recognition doesn't run in such a way that one can say that was the point. At lectures on the "Troika," I have often been asked when I broke with Stalinism. Until last autumn, I never used the term Stalinism myself, because it seemed too imprecise to me, and because everyone had a different definition of it from everyone else's.

But it really was so that, let us say, following the 20th Party Conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that is, since 1956, I began to reflect why it was that all attempts to follow any course other than democratization failed. Even within the ranks of the party, free expression of opinion, developing criticism, which, well, that's what we always learned and proclaimed, is an integral element of progress of all kinds.

There was also a brief phase in which some effects were felt, even in the GDR, as a result of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], but not much was left of that.

I experienced it in manifold form, across the entire broad range of politics, economics, and culture.

The second thing was that in the ministry to which I was attached with the reconnaissance agency, I felt negative things more strongly than before. Compromises were necessary within the agency in order to allow the HVA to continue to function, as I saw every day. Then, too, in my area, I saw colleagues who mastered the purely professional aspects of the job as well as I. My interest in leaving coincided so well with Mielke's long-standing interest in getting rid of me. By the mid- to late seventies, there was a phase of repression against those who were not like-minded, which I describe in the epilogue to the "Troika," with regard to the brother. A need that had never before occurred in my case arose in me, to leave something of our reflections, doubts, and our own experiences, in the form of books. With Gorbachev and perestroyka, all of a sudden, there was an incredible tail-wind, and a great deal of hope.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] So, you hoped that the party and this country would renew themselves from within....

[Wolf] Like many others, I was caught up in our thought structures, and naturally, also caught up in my knowledge of how the system worked. I just didn't see any other possibility. After all, Mikhail Gorbachev wasn't borne up to power by a revolution from below, either. Of course, today I ask myself why I—or why we—didn't find any bridges to those other forces, who were the bearers of this revolution, this gentle revolution of October and November. Whether something different would have happened is pure speculation today.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] As far as your leeway was concerned—you had close acquaintances in the KGB—weren't they able to watch your back?

[Wolf] No, that's not true. Let's not have any misunderstandings here. I was never given any direct encouragement in any way, to form an opposition, as a Gorbachev man.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Were you ever tried by the party? Anyone who thought as you did, and the old-time SED....

[Wolf] No, never. The day my book came out, in March 1989, I gave an interview in which I spoke out against the ban on Sputnik and spoke out warmly in favor of Mikhail Gorbachev and the course he was following. In the meeting of the Politburo, which followed, there must have been a great deal of excitement about it. A verdict was handed down. I was to give no further interviews, and in the MfS, there was a meeting of district leaders in which my behavior was condemned, and so on. I could accept that. Other party members fared far worse.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You spoke of Mielke's interest in getting rid of you. What sort of a person is Mielke, anyway?

[Wolf] That's hard to answer briefly. Hard in part, due to the positions we find ourselves in today. In any case, he was a dedicated supporter of this totally false and totally harmful security doctrine that calls for general surveillance and repression of those who hold different opinions.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] It is said you ran your administration with the precision of an actor. What did your duties entail?

[Wolf] The protection of this state, the GDR, and the Warsaw Pact Alliance, from surprises of any kind. I believe our work was an element that helped preserve the peace. Just a tiny portion of the work of this agency is included in the 45 years of peace in Europe.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] So a bit of balance between the powers was achieved?

[Wolf] Yes, things for which tentative agreements have been reached—open skies, monitoring inspections in the military sector—our work had to do with these things. There is a difference, however. As a result of such inspections, as a result of open skies and satellites, it is possible to determine what exists, but not what is planned. To that extent, intelligence services still perform a valid function.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Is espionage, or intelligence-gathering immoral?

[Wolf] It's pointless to answer such a question with a yes or no. There are too many cliches attached to it. To be sure, I cannot claim that the intelligence-gathering activities on our side would live up to all the good bourgeois images of morality. There are many ways of getting people to cooperate.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] On the topic of undercover operatives who continue to work. How much truth is there to it?

[Wolf] I read a piece in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on this concept of OibE [special task officers]; that is probably the gist of your question. Your author has fallen victim to mystification, and such things can do damage. I do not believe that that is a legacy of the ministry with the goals that are reported. Perhaps, as a result of this business of being forced into the corner, and as a result of being forced to the social sidelines, former employees tend to flock together. Things of that sort can go to extremes, when viewed politically.

But that has nothing to do with the concept of the OibE. If I remember correctly, this development goes back many years. It developed within the intelligence service as a reconnaissance measure, as a means of giving people who had no secure status as officers within the agency with all the social benefits and security that go with that status, a means of creating such a guaranteed status. In this way, no one was in a position to say the slave did his duty, he can go now.

At some later point in time, but nevertheless quite some time ago, those responsible for the defense districts said how is it that only those engaged in reconnaissance have such an opportunity? The fact that the OibE, which was created for these areas in the throes of a false security doctrine—for the penetration of ministries, organizations, agencies, economic sectors—were used, that has absolutely nothing to do with an intention to act the werewolf. Mielke never for a moment considered that the ministry would come to such an end.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Just to get away from espionage for a moment. Since your retirement, you have often spoken out in favor of political morality, taken a page from perestroyka and glasnost, and the like. Do these concepts have any validity in the present German situation?

[Wolf] I think that glasnost has prevailed to a greater degree in the land of its origin, but one really should address perestroyka. Even in the Soviet Union, many question marks are placed behind it regarding the possibilities and the means of its implementation. Perestroyka is finished in the GDR; that fact is nostalgically mourned here, because the various forces that have marshalled themselves against the former leadership and their policies did so in the main for the purpose of preserving a better GDR, a socialist GDR. Now we must totally rethink our position as to how we can best incorporate the socialist ideals, for which we have lived, into a unified Germany, and later, perhaps, into a unified Europe. I believe something will remain of the 40 years of the GDR's existence, and of the better part of this GDR.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You had the courage to subject yourself to whistles and catcalls on Alexanderplatz in November. Schorlemmer, Christa Wolf, Heym, Hein stood on the dais with you. Have you, and your ideas, been swept aside?

[Wolf] I fear the warning, not to allow the chasms that separate the people to widen, was not heard. On the Alex I took a position in the presence of many former MfS employees who were not involved in the inner repression, and had no active role in the injustices that were committed. Now, nearly all are tarred with a collective guilt and punished, most recently, in concrete terms, as a result of the decision by the People's Chamber to dissolve their insurance fund, into which each employee paid his or her contribution throughout his or her tenure of service. Whether cook, or driver attached to a vacation spa, radio operator for an intelligence service radio, foreign reconnaissance worker, when compared with members of the National Peoples' Army, the Ministry of the Interior, or the customs agency, they are subject to regulations that are socially discriminatory.

A Stasi subject to special laws, something that is nearly unfathomable to me, was resolved, counter to positions that Prime Minister de Maiziere took repeatedly. Neither the laws of the GDR nor of the FRG recognize collective guilt, only individual justice. In the decision on the pensions, the equivalent of a blanket guilty verdict on everyone was handed down. The rule of law did not hold sway, but a "popular sentiment" moved the deputies to pass that resolution, which attempts to right one wrong by committing another.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You are a member of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], you are even in the Senior Council. The party has taken steps to rejuvenate itself. How much progress has been made along those lines?

[Wolf] I am in a poor position to judge. My decision at the extraordinary Party Congress in December, not to allow myself to be elected to the party's Executive Committee, was motivated, quite apart from my sense of responsibility for the past, by a sense of conviction that the younger members, who were not burdened by the modes of thought of the past, should take the party's fate into their hands. I believe the young people will live up to what is expected of them. They will gain the courage to do so.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Your new book will be published by Bertelsmann. Wasn't there any publisher in the GDR that would have accepted it?

[Wolf] Not really. Two separate editions in the German language are no longer thinkable.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Is that the same sort of thought as with Krenz?

[Wolf] I don't think so. I had a West German publisher for "Troika," and he expressed interest in my new book as well, but Bertelsmann offered a more favorable contract without seeing a line of the manuscript. I have preserved my complete independence.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Perhaps you could summarize what the book is about?

[Wolf] Basically, it's a reflection of all the questions we discussed here, couched in my experiences of the past year, but including reflections that reach far into the past, reflections concerning people I had dealings with in this period. It also deals with reflections of what is left to us; it's quite a subjective book.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You wouldn't care to mention the people?

[Wolf] Not all of them, but Honecker is in it, a private conversation I had with him in January of last year. The reader might learn a few new and interesting things.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] What was the conversation with Honecker about?

[Wolf] The catalyst that started the whole conversation was a documentary film about his father, a film that wasn't even broadcast initially, and then it was, without

the consent of the authors, or my consent, in a much-edited form. The result was that it was shown in its entirety—maybe that was a result of my special position. But that was really only a minor portion of the conversation. Put in general terms, it had to do with my concern that our party, the party leadership had set a course that had gone the opposite direction from perestroyka.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] And what was his reply?

[Wolf] I don't want to reveal that now, otherwise I'll violate my contract.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] You have many friends in the Soviet Union. Keeping that in mind, there is the question of cooperation between the Soviets, the Germans, and the Americans. Any reference to the three friends in the "Troika" is unintentional.

[Wolf] It was surprising for me that many readers saw a projection of politics on the grand scale in the "Troika." I do believe that great possibilities are present in the changes that have come about in recent years, perhaps precisely because rapprochement, detente, understanding, disarmament have been implemented, not only by the politicians, but also because they have gained the support of the people.

In our country, human relationships of many kinds have developed as a result of study, visits, the stationing of Soviet troops here, unfortunately, not so much with the soldiers, who are usually confined to their barracks, but more as the result of contact among the officers, but contacts in any case. Economic relationships, party relationships, social relationships—these were not just the administratively planned and promoted relationships, there were always human beings behind them. These relationships, not a prescribed, but a true friendship, is something we can contribute to a future, united Germany.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] There are similar relationships between the other Germans and the French, the British, and the Americans. Can the "pan-Germans" perform a function of mediation?

[Wolf] If only the Germans existed...I think in both parts of the future Germany there actually are people who think that way and can bring these relationships to bear, regardless of where they are active, in the sense of understanding and peace. But there are also fears of the Germans. Such fears are always downplayed by the politicians and treated as if they were moderate, but who could overlook the smug "Now we are something again" and "We are somebody once more" that were heard from some quarters here. Indeed, it will be a powerful Germany, in economic terms, territorially, and politically. For the future of the continent, it will be very important whether our neighbors perceive us as a dangerous threat or not.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] Your book is nearly finished. What will we then hear from Markus Wolf?

[Wolf] I have a three-book contract, so I have sold myself to the slavery of the market economy. As a pensioner, I just wanted to pause and reflect on the experiences of a lifetime, think of things as they occur to me, write them down, and, whenever necessary, resort to the archives. But now I have to approach the next book from a totally different perspective.

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND] The topic?

[Wolf] I have to wait until the title occurs to me.

USSR Asked To Condemn 1956 Intervention

LD2307173490 Budapest MTI in English 1626 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—At its session on Monday [23 July], Parliament passed the draft resolution addressed to the Soviet Parliament without debate. The resolution on the 1956 Soviet intervention to Hungary proposes that the Hungarian National Assembly should request the Soviet parliament to pass a position and condemn the 1956 intervention to Hungary.

The Monday session of Parliament focussed on the question of local government. The debate went on almost exclusively between the HDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] and AFD [Alliance of Free Democrats] members of Parliament. As they could not reach consensus, the debate had to be adjourned again.

The twenty contributions Monday did not include any new arguments.

MTI's parliamentary correspondents say the debate will last until the six parliamentary parties reach agreement.

The date of the local elections have already been set for September 30.

'Text' of National Assembly Appeal

LD2307193290 Budapest MTI in English 1817 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—In the following piece, we are reporting the full text of the appeal addressed by the Hungarian National Assembly to the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Parliament passed the appeal at its Monday session:

'In October, 1956, the Hungarian people took up arms to put an end to the Stalinist autocracy and achieve independence for the country. The revolution and freedom fight were bloodily supressed by the Soviet troops that were unlawfully present in Hungary or invaded the country later.

Within 90 days after the 1955 Austrian state contract, the Soviet troops should have been also withdrawn from Hungary, which did not happen. Therefore, their further presence lacked all international legal foundations. Their military intervention in 1956 constituted an act of cruel violence against the country's sovereignty and a serious crime against the Hungarian people.

Therefore, the Hungarian National Assembly requests the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that—similarly to the revaluation of the Czechoslovak events of August, 1968—the body should pass a statement on the illegality of the 1956 Soviet intervention to Hungary, and condemn it. This move would reinforce the Soviet pledge to respect the sovereignty and independence of the Republic of Hungary, and contribute to creating genuine friendship between our peoples, as well as be of encouragement to the peoples in Central and Eastern Europe to speed up democratic transformation.'

Latest Figures on Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD2307172390 Budapest MTI in English 1640 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—In the course of the Soviet troops pullout from Hungary, altogether 448 trains had left the country by Monday. This was 25.3 per cent of the 1,769 trains that are to leave until the withdrawal is completed, MTI was told by Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence.

Since the beginning of the pullout, 202 troops-carrying trains and 185 trainloads of equipment crossed the Hungarian-Soviet border. This means that 28.6 per cent of the 1,352 trains needed for transporting the troops and their equipment have left the country up to now.

29 passenger trains and 32 container trains have also left, carrying the families and personal belongings of the Soviet soldiers.

Hungary-Soviet Traffic Continues Undisturbed

LD2307194990 Budapest MTI in English 1901 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—For the time being, passenger traffic has not declined across the Hungarian-Soviet border, it has even increased at four crossing points.

Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov announced during the weekend that simplified border crossing—under which passengers were needed to carry only an identity card plus an inserted sheet—would be temporarily suspended.

Bela Borsi, head of the Zahony customs office, told MTI that they had received not official report on the Soviet measures, and did not know which border stretches and when would be affected by the suspension. Although he had contacted the customs officials at csop, his Soviet counterparts had not been briefed either.

The simplified border crossing procedure was introduced on March 1, 1989 by an interstate agreement. To change it would need a decision by both states.

In the year of adopting simplified crossing requirements, 12 million passengers crossed the Hungari-Soviet border at Zahony. This year, 6 million passengers have been registered up to now.

New Minister Boross on Security Services

LD2307222590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1805 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Interview with Dr. Peter Boross, minister with portfolio, formerly political state secretary, by unidentified

correspondent on the "First-Hand Information" program in studio on 23 July—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The guest in the "First-Hand Information" program studio is Dr. Peter Boross, who took the oath today and became a minister without portfolio in the Antall government. Earlier he was a political state secretary. How did you become a minister within a few weeks?

[Boross] Parliament recently amended the law on national security which had placed the secret service directly under the supervision of the prime minister. With the amendment passed, the service came under the supervision of a minister. Since the law has been modified, there was a need for a minister. This is how my appointment came about.

[Correspondent] So you are the person who supervises the secret services; these are the national security service and the intelligence service.

[Boross] Yes, the nonmilitary secret services.

[Correspondent] You are a lawyer by profession.

[Boross] Yes. [passage omitted on his personal background, training and various jobs held, mostly not connected with the law because of his involvement in 1956] I am not a member of any political party, so I am not a member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. But I have taken part in various roundtable discussions and became member of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian League on Human rights. [passage omitted on ways he participated in various discussions]

[Correspondent] Many people question the stability of Hungarian security services. It is well known that during the period of the party-state there was, of course, a certain political commitment, and that party membership was almost 100 percent. It was a requisite for these services, but also for the foreign diplomatic services. It is also common knowledge that by their training, they are strongly linked to the Soviet secret service. Once again may I repeat the question: Are the Hungarian secret services stable?

[Boross] I believe these secret services can be made stable. I would like to refer to a certain Ministry of Internal Affairs myth which surrounded these services. They were shrouded in a fog, perhaps giving the illusion that they were members of a privileged group. In my view this does not mean that the current majority of the secret services carry the sins of the past. There was a strong hierarchy and system of directions. It is logical they had to act in this direction. [passage omitted on changes since the end of the 1970's, and after 1985 in neighboring countries, which demonstrates people can change, and how those trained in the Soviet Union became aware of its shortcomings] We must not equate people with their leaders—I need not refer to Danubegate in a similar situation.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted mentioning the denouncing of Szuros to Andropov] Are there any lists? Who has the list? Do you make out these lists? Will it become known who the spies were and who worked for foreign governments? Will the moment of truth, the hour of truth, arrive?

[Boross] Let us take out who worked for foreign governments from this question.

[Correspondent] Why? Why should we eliminate this?

[Boross] Because there is no such list; there are some lists...

[Correspondent, interrupting] But forgive me, this is the most serious issue.

[Boross] Yes, but there is no list concerning this in Hungarian hands. Presumably the foreign government has such a list.

[Correspondent] Oh, I see, I understand. Don't you intend to clear this up at all?

[Boross] Let us start by saying that there is such a list. During the destruction of documents, the activities for which members on the list had to sign was destroyed and, as a result, it is impossible to validate.

[Correspondent] Is this a copy?

[Boross] This is a list showing that those documents which state: X and Y, I undertake.... the necessary evidence is missing, or was destroyed. There was a transitional period when for one reason or another—and this suspicion arises repeatedly—names were added to such lists.

[Correspondent] As a provocation?

[Boross] Without foundations, as a provocation, with the intention of blackening reputations. I must add that this list is basically connected to the so-called 3/3 organization, which has since been abolished, and is not linked to the present secret services. I have now been an insider for a month and a half, and I am informed enough to tell this. It must not be forgotten that names got on a list like this without selection. There was an atmosphere of production that someone should have a network. [passage omitted on pressure on people whose name got onto the list]

[passage omitted—Reporter describes how the secret service officer leaked information making the Hungarian "Danubegate" public, and forcing the eventual resignation of the minister of the interior in the caretaker government, who found his drawers empty as one of his colleagues took away lists, materials from there]

[Correspondent] One of his colleagues came in the morning and left with the contents of this safe. This story stayed with me. To whom were those materials delivered, what kind of lists had been taken away, and, what's more, he added that that colleague dealt with the files of

people who had been infiltrated into Hungarian scientific life. These files are there somewhere; can these materials not be used for blackmail at a later stage, as these had not been destroyed?

[Boross] Well, in the disintegration period this could take place; it may be justifiably assumed that materials had not only been burned, but some also found their way into pockets. Of course, the political situation of the country, in fact that of all of Central and East Europe, is such that I doubt the materials can be used for a very effective provocation, especially given the original purpose the individuals took them. At the most they can blackmail persons; they can dirty the air perhaps. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Somebody told me last week that he knew precisely that during the Romanian revolution the Hungarian security organs contacted certain high-ranking officers of the Romanian Securitate who, in return for certain Hungarian nationality, were staying in Hungary. Then he gave me a name—God forbid me to repeat it now—adding that this person continues to give lengthy speeches in parliament and that he knows precisely that his file was with the then leaders of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party]. He gave names, high-ranking diplomatic figures who know very well that this can be used at a suitable time in the future.

[Boross] This is the first time that I have heard this, despite the fact that I am hearing the most fantastic stories, left, right, and center. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] You now say that this affair should be closed...but people want to know who reported on them, who reported Matyas Szuros to Andropov, because if people are not told who killed Janos Elbert—the Hungarian secret service, as Tamas Ungvari suggests [Hungarian publicist], or the Soviet KGB as is believed by public opinion—then these rumors survive.

[Boross] My view is that these can be discussed in concrete terms. In other words, if Matyas Szuros had pronounced that name before the microphone was switched off, then he would have done something to publicize the case; after all, all these are concrete names, concrete events. Thus, by the way, it may be observed today, that everybody knows something but does not want to say the name. This is the kind of breath which blows gently around these kinds of stories.

List or no list. I can say as much [as to state] that this list is not credible. It could cause immense harm to innocent people, a trauma to the nation, and, in my view, it must be locked away, classified not only for many decades but even for a longer time perhaps, or it must be consigned to permanent mortality. People must be given the opportunity to make their account with their own conscience. All other solutions carry extraordinary dangers with it.

Still, it does not depend on me. It is an issue over which the waves reach as high as the parliament.

[Correspondent] How then will things end? Will there be a parliamentary decision, or will the government decide, or has there been such a decision already?

[Boross] Well, there is no such decision....It has not been left to me. There are no concrete contours to these: No decision has been made as to who is to make the decision or who should report and where but I emphasize that it is not decided—at the root of it—as to who those persons are who in the past, in a base manner, spied on others and reported on them. [passage omitted] The situation would be completely different and could be argued if unambiguous documents would evince that x number of people were doing such and such.

[Correspondent] Will your service live without spies, without a spy network?

[Boross] Well, the organization of an informer network in a form of power which is alien to the nation is very different from the information gathering under a democracy, one in which the nation can express its own wish through parliamentary elections and other institutions. Thus, I say, there is no old- fashioned informer, and there is no need for it either. [passage omitted: there is a need for information about people suspected of working against the interest of the nation]

[Correspondent] Our relations with our neighbors, the countries of the former Little Entant, are not cloudless, to put it mildly. Now, as the [Hungarian] Defense Ministry has switched to all-round defense, will the Hungarian secret service switch to a similar circular defense. Do you have to start this circular defense from scratch?

[Boross] A European situation has developed and we are increasingly moving away from that great unity which the bloc of socialist countries meant at one time. Logically, in that situation, the Hungarian secret service was also looking toward the West for the image of the enemy—both the soldier, the intelligence, and the counterintelligence. This situation has changed, and a special Hungary is evolving with special Hungarian interests. Thus, the image of the enemy changes of necessity; it is not allocated in accordance with points of the compass.

For every country the enemy is the one which, for some reason, wants to cause it harm. In Hungary's case, when, after all, even foreign policy relations are yet unformed in the neighboring countries, it would be a great crime to state that we have found new enemies or to build any kind of military or other endeavours against it. [passage omitted repeating that neighboring countries are just forming]

Administrations are created in these countries. These administrations will have tasks, and regarding the administration in whose endeavors anti-Hungarian elements appear—be they on the Eastern or Western side of the country—defense must be organized accordingly.

Hungary is a small country; therefore, it can essentially organize itself for a defensive type of activity. There are

no aggressive intentions or endeavours to change borders, but there is a need for defense against [a country which] nurtures future intentions hostile to the existence and fate of Hungary. The old organization based on the points of the compass must end.

It is extremely bad to frequently listen to the simplified picture; until now the enemy was on the Western side; now it is unambiguously on the East. This is not true. [passage omitted: there is a need for a cooling-down period, because of reports of demonstrations against the Magyar minority in neighboring countries, where it is omitted that the number of demonstrators only amounted to 200, and which creates undue passions among radio and television audience]

National Assembly Proceedings, Rulings Reported

Human Rights Accord Ratified

LD2307142790 Budapest MTI in English 1308 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—In its Monday session the Hungarian parliament amended Law Decree No. 3/1988, which confirms the international agreement against torture and other cruel, inhuman or humiliating punishments. The MPs unanimously agreed that Hungary's more marked human rights policy, justified the acceptance of the provision, within the International Charter on Human Rights, to allow the U.N. to investigate all cases of alleged penal abuse.

When Hungary deposited the documents ratifying the aforementioned international agreement with the U.N. secretary-general in 1987, it declared its reservation concerning Article 20 of the agreement, and did not accept the authority of the committee against torture, set under the agreement, in the cases of complaints filed against any signatory state accused of regularly subjecting people to torture.

The MPs also decided that the provisions of the decree should be applied retroactively to 13 September 1989, because on that date, the Council of Ministers withdrew its previously held reservations, issuing a declaration accepting the competence of the committee against torture in cases specified under Articles 21 and 22. The MPs authorized the government to appoint an agency which would be authorised to maintain contact with the committee against torture and/or its respective delegates in the case of an investigation specified under Article 20.

Parliament approved, with a large majority, the legislation dealing with MPs' legal status, salaries, compensation, subsidies and concessions. As a result, MPs' salaries will always be equivalent to half of the current ministerial pre-tax salary, which today stands at 54,000 forints. Members of parliamentary committees and other office-holders will be [words indistinct] payments. The MPs will be granted further subsidies and concessions, according to the nature of their work, with a view to further aiding them in their work.

Press Privatization Report Approved

LD2307174690 Budapest MTI in English 1629 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—The Monday meeting of the special session of the Hungarian National Assembly has drawn to an end with the mps hearing the report by the committee in charge of examining the privatization of the press.

The report was approved by the mps, but no resolution was passed. Parliament is to resume session at 10 am on Tuesday.

Law on MP's Status, Salaries

LD2307173190 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—As reported, parliament on Monday passed the bills on MP's legal status, salaries, compensation, subsidies and concessions.

The law on MP's legal status states that an MP—and a former MP—cannot be held responsible either in court or before another authority because of their votes or a fact stated or opinion expressed in the course of fulfilling their function. At the same time, immunity does not extend to cases of slander or libel, for which MPs will also be made responsible after the suspension of their parliamentary immunity.

The law also declares that an MP cannot be employed by the official organization of the president of the Republic, the Constitutional Court, the State Audit Office, the parliamentary commissioners for citizens' rights, as well as national and ethnic minority rights.

The parliamentary mandate is also incompatible with the offices of president, vice president or director of the National Bank of Hungary, and with those of the executive director or member of the directors' board of the State Assets Agency.

As regards MPs status under the labour code, the law declares that during the course of their office, MPs are allowed to take up employment or legal relations connected to work, and they can be engaged in activities directed to earning money, with the exception of incompatibility cases.

The law on MPs' salaries, compensation, subsidies and concessions declares that an MP is entitled to a salary, consisting of a basic and supplementary fees, from the moment of taking up office.

The basic salaries will always be equivalent to half of the current ministerial pre-tax salary, which today stands at 65,000 forints. Members of parliamentary committees and other office-holders will be supplemented with extra payments. The speaker of parliament will receive the equivalent of 200 per cent of the MPs' basic salary, the deputy speaker 150 per cent, the minutes taker 70 per cent, and

committee chairman 100 per cent, while committee members will receive 40 per cent and heads of parliamentary party groups 120 per cent a month.

MPs are to pay personal taxes and superannuation both after their basic and supplementary salaries.

Government Coalition Agreement on Land Issue

LD2307175590 Budapest MTI in English 1552 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—At their Tuesday meeting, the parties in the government coalition, such as the HDF, Independent Smallholders and the Christian Democratic People's Party, reached agreement on the basic principles of settling the land issue.

Representatives of parliamentary groups briefed journalists on the results of the talks in the midday recess of the July 23 parliamentary session.

Imre Konya, head of the HDF group, stressed that the agreement was of historical significance from the point of view of the nation's future, as it was opening the way for establishing a land ownership structure that would be in harmony with the requirements of a social market economy and based on the priority of private property. This would make it possible for the peasants and the agricultural community to regain their property of which they had been unjustly deprived.

The parliamentary groups called on the related ministries to speed up legislation work so that the government could put the bill forward to the National Assembly as soon as possible.

Istvan Borocz, member of the Independent Smallholders' Parliamentary Group, stressed that the law's fundamental objective was to restore land to the people who would ensure its cultivation.

At the same time, the settlement of the issue would also make for rehabilitating the people who had suffered injustice in the decades of arbitrary land settlement after December 31, 1947.

The law primarily favours those who are engaged in agricultural activity for life. Cooperately-owned land that will remain after satisfying the claimants will be left in the ownership of the cooperative.

State-owned land used by state farms will become the property of local governments.

Foreigners will not have the right to claim agricultural land or forest.

Mr Konya also said that full-scale compensation was not possible, and it could be implemented only later and in terms of the country's performance.

He pointed to the fact that the government party agreement had proved that there had been no fundamental differences of view on this question, it was only a case of different emphases in the question of private property. The sides who had signed the agreement had put the stress on ensuring the continuity of agricultural production in the country.

Answering questions, MP Geza Zsiros (Independent Smallholders) said it was to be hoped that the bill would be passed before August 20.

Laszlo Sarossy, political state secretary for agriculture, said the bill was in completely harmony with the agrarian concept of the ministry and the government.

Tamas Isepy, political state secretary for justice, said it was not on remedying former grievances that the bill put the emphasis. This was also reflected in the order of the people who could claim land, with agricultural workers in the first place, who could lay claims for a maximum of one and a half hectares and upon payment of compensation.

Mr Sarossy stressed that as a result of the agreement, none of the government parties would now come up with their own land programme.

He said the law would also set the deadline for the placing of claims. The bill included the alternative of six months or one year, with the former being the more probable.

Mr Sarossy said land privatization in its major aspects could be carried out within two or three years.

Hungarian Danube Dam Commissioner Interviewed

AU2307103790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Jul 90 p 7

[Tibor Ferko Budapest dispatch: "New Commissioner; Old Approaches?"]

[Text] Samsodi-Kiss Gyorgy, the new Hungarian government commissioner for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydropower project, bases all his plans on the premise that all contentious issues concerning the project can be resolved within a year, when he will be able to conclude his mission. This means, according to his words, to objectively assess the present situation and to lead the negotiations with the partners to desirable results. Unfortunately, according to the Hungarian interpretation of the problems, these results cannot be any different from the Hungarians' own conception of them.

Asked by the NARODNA OBRODA correspondent whether it is realistic to expect negotiations with the Czechoslovak side on compensation for damage, similar to the negotiations under way with Austria, the government commissioner unequivocally replied that this can on no account be expected: "We jointly participated in this error 30 years ago and must therefore also jointly bear the consequences." In the second half of September, the commissioner's office would like to present to the government the draft of a comprehensive solution to the fate of the project. Until then it must, however, meet the demands of the Austrian subcontractor, who has promised to cut 800 million off the claimed 3.8 billion Austrian schillings if he gets the Hungarians' final reply on the repayment of the debt by 31 July. In case this fails, the Austrians are

determined to file a suit against the Hungarian side with the international court in Geneva.

Boross Appointed Minister Without Portfolio

LD2307100190 Budapest MTI in English 0930 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 23 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament resumed its special session in Budapest on Monday.

Peter Boross, took the oath of office, to become the fourth government minister without portfolio. Boross, the former political state secretary to the prime ministerial office, was appointed by Arpad Goncz, interim president of the Republic of Hungary.

Before starting to discuss the items on the agenda, parliament decided whether to append some independent motions to the agenda, and once included, establish their priority.

Skubiszewski on French Treaty, German Minority

PM2307145290 Paris LE MONDE in French 21 Jul 90 p 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Sophie Shihab in Paris; date not given; first paragraph is LE MONDE introduction]

[Text] While taking part in the "two-plus-four" meeting which settled the question of the German-Polish border in Paris on Wednesday, 18 July, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski secured a pledge from the Germans that they would sign two treaties with Poland after their unification: one confirming the border, the second, at a later stage, which would be a cooperation treaty settling the other aspects of bilateral relations, particularly the economic aspects. In an interview granted to LE MONDE, Mr. Skubiszewski suggested the signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation with France.

[Shihab] On the evening of this pledge by your German counterparts and of a 30-minute meeting with Mr. Mitterrand, you said that France is Poland's "most important political partner." What do you mean by that? Is the aim to counterbalance Germany?

[Skubiszewski] No, but we must not rule out the possibility of a new treaty of friendship between France and Poland. We had a prewar alliance. We are certainly living through difficult times, and bilateral alliances are less relevant. But, given the existence of a special relationship with France, we must think of giving it a foundation, of enshrining it in a convention. I did not discuss that during my talks, but it is an idea which must be considered following these very fruitful and important contacts: We must "mend the broken threads" of history, as one of my senior interlocutors here said. In international affairs, such agreements with Germany and France can become major pillars of European unity. Similarly, Poland wishes to review the existing agreement with the USSR to adapt it to the new conditions.

[Shihab] How do you view your relations with the Soviet republics that border on Poland?

[Skubiszewski] I see two aspects: good relations with Moscow and with the neighboring peoples. Lithuanian President Landsbergis has been to Poland to celebrate the Polish-Lithuanian victory of Gruenwald (against the Teutonic knights) and I intend to visit Kiev this year in conjunction with a visit to Moscow.

[Shihab] Do you have contacts with the Ukrainian separatist movements?

[Skubiszewski] Not at the government level. The contacts are with parliamentary groups.

[Shihab] At a time when there is a split in Poland between two movements—one, which is populist, supporting Mr. Walesa, and the other asserting the importance it attaches to democracy and supporting your prime minister—how is it expressing itself in the foreign policy sphere?

[Skubiszewski] I do not know the other group's ideas. They have not yet taken shape as far as my ministry is concerned. I think that the government's foreign policy expresses a national agreement above the divisions between parties with regard to European policy, the USSR, Germany, with regard to France as the main political partner, the rapprochement with Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Baltic regional cooperation.

The German Minority

[Shihab] Don't you think that a split may appear, for instance, with regard to the rights of the German minority in Poland—which you are due to discuss with a united Germany?

[Skubiszewski] I do not think that the attitude adopted on this subject by Mr. Walesa and his supporters is different from mine. I am opposed to a special treaty. There were very bad experiments of that kind between the two wars but there can be provisions in a cooperation treaty on the mutual protection of minorities. We do not rule out the use of part of the German debt to help the minorities—the debt which Bonn has agreed to convert into zlotys.

[Shihab] Has Poland given up demanding war reparations from Germany, which was one of Mr. Kohl's preconditions for agreeing to sign a treaty on the border?

[Skubiszewski] The question is not now being asked. Poland is at present asking for compensation to be paid not to the state but to two categories of victims of Nazism: prisoners and those deported to do hard labor. A special fund could be created.

[Shihab] You have expressed your satisfaction with the results of the "two-plus-four" conference, but did you secure agreement on resuming the discussions with the two German states now to prepare the bilateral treaty confirming the border?

[Skubiszewski] Not yet. As agreed during the conference, the treaty will be signed "as soon as possible" after unification. It is therefore very desirable to talk about the content of the treaty before that unification, to ensure that it is ready. Mr. Genscher listened to our arguments, but did not give any reply. However, that the Polish satisfaction is based on very specific assurances, received jointly by the four great powers, implies that the definitive nature of the border is an essential element for peace in Europe. This will also feature partly in the "definitive settlement" stemming from the conference.

[Shihab] This settlement is to include a pledge by the two German states to change the existing federal Constitution to eliminate the possibility of territorial expansion. Does that pledge satisfy you?

[Skubiszewski] As far as Poland is concerned, the principle of a state's constitution conforming to its international pledges also applies to any internal legislation in that state.

Kohl Seen 'Particularly Keen' on Border Treaty

LD2307210490 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 23 Jul 90

[By PAP Correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, July 23—West German Government Spokesman Hans Klein stated in a radio interview that: "The federal chancellor is particularly keen on reaching not only a border treaty with Poland but also a possibly most comprehensive treaty on cooperation, and if possible a friendship treaty, so as to reach in the long-term equally friendly relations with Poland as with France."

"Such a treaty must cover many matters: starting with the economy, through youth exchange and scientific exchange and ending with the creation of border region traffic. The point is for new borders, this time not political but borders of prosperity, not to surface in Europe," the spokesman said.

Also appearing on radio, West Germany's Foreign Affairs Minister Hand-Dietrich Genscher said that German-Soviet relations were of key importance for the future of Europe in the long-term while German-Polish relations were of fundamental significance for peace in Europe.

Ministers Discuss Two-Plus-Four Talks

LD2307224790 Warsaw PAP in English 2156 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—Another radical step freeing the Polish economy from its planned and centralized model of the past years was the main topic of today's meeting of the Council of Ministers chaired by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

On Economic Programming

The approved draft to repeal the law on socioeconomic planning is an important element of restructuring the system of management and the state system. The new proposed solutions are based on patterns from countries with market economy.

In tune with the draft, former rigid and hierarchical planning will finally be abandoned and the principles of economic programming corresponding to the nature of market economy will be introduced instead. Long-term programmes for economic and social activity for annual periods will be presented to the Sejm together with the budget law.

Actions, changes and supplements, necessary in a given year, will make up the contents of annual assumptions for the socioeconomic policy.

As part of their independent powers, the bodies of local authorities will be able to prepare similar types of programmes.

On 2+4 Meeting

The Council of Ministers studied the foreign minister's detailed report on the Paris two-plus-four meeting with the participation of Poland and stressed that the result of the meeting was beneficial for Poland.

The foreign minister delivered also a report on his visit to France, emphasizing great significance of Polish-French cooperation in many areas.

On Law on Foundations

The government approved draft amendments to the law on foundations that strives to simplify the principles of setting them up. This will be a solution similar to the one adopted towards cooperatives and associations. A complete giving up of the administrative approval of a foundation and its statute will apply to those foundations that, apart from pursuing socially or economically useful goals, plan to carry out economic activity.

On Access to Modern Know-How

The Council of Ministers took organizational and legislative decisions setting up a system to protect modern know-how imported to Poland from the COCOM member states and from states cooperating with COCOM (Coordinating Committee for East-West trade policy). The system is to ensure the use of these know-how only in a way authorized by the authorities of the exporting state.

NKVD Victims Exhumation Near Kharkov in Sep

LD2307161890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] The exhumation of the bodies of Polish officers interned in Starobielsk and murdered by the NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs], who were buried near Kharkov, will take place in September. Representatives of the Ukrainian side have given full consent for the exhumation to be carried out in accordance with all the rules of investigative proceedings, and for representatives of Poland to participate in all such work. This was announced by Deputy Prosecutor General Stefan (Sniezko) upon his return to Warsaw from Kiev and Kharkov.

Jaruzelski Appoints New Ambassadors

AU2307173590 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Personal Appointments"]

[Excerpt] President Wojciech Jaruzelski has appointed the following ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiaries of the Polish Republic: Krzysztof Plominski, ambassador to the Republic of Iraq; Krzysztof Sliwinski, ambassador to the Kingdom of Morocco; and Wojciech Wieczorek, ambassador to the GDR. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Addresses Senior Army Officers

AU2307140390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Joanna Krawczyk report: "Prime Minister Meets Senior Polish Army Officers"]

[Text] A discussion on a new philosophy of the military—that in a nutshell, is how one could describe yesterday's [20 July] meeting between Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and senior personnel from the Polish Army.

Among the 100 officers taking part in the meeting were the national defense minister and his deputy; representatives from defense ministry central institutions, military districts and various branches of the Armed Forces; some divisional commanders, military training representatives; and military deputies.

This first meeting of its kind took place on the prime minister's initiative. After greeting Tadeusz Mazowiecki, National Defense Minister Vice Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk said: "Mr. Prime Minister, I would like to report that your decision regarding today's meeting meets the expectations of personnel and troops who want to support the government and the objectives that it has set itself."

The prime minister of the Republic of Poland said, among other things, that the changes that occurred in the country last year mean that we are dealing with a revolution, but a revolution that could be described as wise; one that takes account of the complexities of the current situation, external and internal factors, the expectations of politicians, and the aspirations of the people. It was a revolution that rejected extremist methods and, in accordance with the will of the majority, opted for the use of moderate methods. The prime minister also stressed that this peaceful change owes a lot to the Army, because the result of last year's parliamentary elections showed that the military feels the same way as all of society, and that it rejects the old system and supports the building of a new civic state that is completely sovereign and independent.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "The Army stands guard over such a state and cannot be the tool of one party or grouping. It must serve the state and the nation. For this to come about, the military must undergo extensive personnel and organizational changes. I accord a special role to the revival of the old military tradition; it will also have an impact on the recovery of national identity. The Army cannot suffer from complexes derived from taboo or neglected subjects. The Armed Forces must protect every border and be prepared for every threat to sovereignty."

The prime minister raised several topics in his speech. He spoke on, among other things:

The New Situation in Europe and the Tasks for the Polish Armed Forces Resulting From It

"The current setup of the two opposing military blocs is being reassessed. This will have an impact on the tasks of the Armed Forces, the deployment of troops, the Army's logistical support, and its structure and organization. Notice has to be taken of Poland's qualitatively new position in Europe, which is a consequence of the international situation. Poland finds itself situated between two areas in which important changes are taking place. The unification of Germany can be viewed with disquiet and with hope. The unification of Germany has to be seen as part of the process whereby a normal instead of a divided Europe will emerge. "That is also the manner in which we want to develop our relations with other sovereign countries. We are interested in cooperation with the countries of Central and East Europe. We see a need to increase the level of activity in Poland's contacts with the Scandinavian countries and the countries of West Europe."

On Policy Toward the USSR

"We want to have a friendly country in the east. The government's initial assumption was to make the leadership of the Soviet state understand that we guarantee friendly relations with that country and that the Polish United Workers Party should not be considered the sole guarantor of Polish-Soviet friendship. The second difficult task is to turn relations between our peoples into normal and friendly relations. This is not easy, it requires time, and certain stereotypes and prejudices have to be overcome."

On the Warsaw Pact

"We consider the Warsaw Pact to be a defensive alliance and not an instrument for exerting an influence over the order and political and economic system in member countries. The Warsaw Pact has lost its ideological role and is in a state of change and of crisis. Poland is in favor of transforming the Pact into a treaty between sovereign and equal states that retain full control over their Armed Forces. We support the peaceful withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland, and we do not want the process to occur in the ostentatious manner in which it has occurred in certain other countries."

On Changes Within the Army

"We expect the Army to exercise an effective influence in setting a good example and to support efforts to maintain law and order in the country. The democracy that we are building also envisages political battles. This is a normal phenomenon in a democratic state. However, it should also be normal for the Army to stand above such battles and to be an element that promotes the stability of the nation and state.

"The Polish Armed Forces are facing numerous personnel and structural changes. The personnel changes are not the product of political hostility, but a consequence of the consistent realization of the process of replacing personnel and of including the Army within the changes that are taking place in the country. Government policy on national defense calls for a strong Army; a state has to have a strong pillar on which to base its authority. A peaceful revolution precludes the possibility of purges in the Army and the use of the military for personnel maneuvering.

"The process of humanizing and democratizing life in the Army calls for, among other things, an improvement in relations between the 'old' and 'young' generations and opposition to treating young people serving the fatherland as mere objects. It is, among other things, a question of forms of overseeing relations in the Army such as the institution of a spokesman for soldiers rights for the entire Armed Forces or of unit counselors."

The prime minister also answered officers questions. General of Brigades Leon Komornicki, head of the Silesian Military District staff headquarters, said, among other things, that there was concern in his district over increased activity on the part of the German minority and concepts of Silesian autonomy, as well as greater activity on the part of the Ukrainian minority, which supports such concepts. There was also, in his opinion, concern about strengthening the western border.

The prime minister's reply was: "I think that we should carefully follow what is happening on the western border and not ignore anything. As far as national minorities are concerned, we must learn to treat these issues as something that is natural in a democratic state. For many years after the war, the existence of national minorities was completely denied. However, its importance should not be exaggerated, and we should view the issue in its correct perspective. Nevertheless, we should be sensitive to the exaggeration of national minority issues and to their exploitation in other country's politics."

Following the meeting with Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Jan Makarczyk described certain aspects of the political situation in Europe to the senior military personnel.

Deputy Defense Minister Discusses Armed Forces

PM2307111690 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Jun 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Deputy National Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz by Roman Przeciszewski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Przeciszewski] Your appointment to the post of deputy minister of the defense sector, which until now was open only to professional military men, was received with surprise by many observers. The surprise was the greater because until then we all knew Janusz Onyszkiewicz as Solidarity spokesman and latterly as a Sejm deputy, but we did not suspect that he had anything in to do with the Armed Forces...

[Onyszkiewicz] Believe me, I was also surprised at Prime Minister Mazowiecki's recommendation. Why me of all people? At one of my public meetings someone even wanted to know if this was associated with the current "Pilsudski mania," since I am married to Marshal Pilsudski's granddaughter, but I was able to answer truthfully that the prime minister never used that argument to persuade me.

[Przeciszewski] In that case, what argument did he use to persuade you? What argument is responsible for the fact that now generals salute you, a civilian?

[Onyszkiewicz] Let us not make a big thing out of it. After all, it is not an inflexible rule that only military men can make decisions about the Armed Forces. In democratic Western countries the national defense sectors have long been run by civilian politicians. It is simply that military commanders are still military commanders, but the ministry is run by a civilian representative of the government. Together with Mr. Komorowski, we decided that our assumption of office in the National Defense Ministry [MON] would mark the beginning of a process which would be advantageous for the state, the public, and the Armed Forces themselves.

[Przeciszewski] How did you prepare for assuming this office?

[Onyszkiewicz] When did I have the time to prepare? To tell the truth, I have not had the opportunity to acquaint myself with our Armed Forces. As a student, I was placed on the reserve list, and later... There was a time when, as a mathematician, I was involved in writing the computer program for a national airspace defense system. I have read a lot about the Polish Armed Forces. This was mostly from foreign publications. However, despite all this, the national defense sector was probably the one field of which I and my colleagues had the least knowledge. I have often said that we had always managed to maintain some contacts with all the other sectors—even, paradoxically, with the Internal Affairs Ministry [MSW], whereas the MON remained a mystery to us.

[Przeciszewski] Those times are gone. How are things now?

[Onyszkiewicz] I am learning about the Army, that is all.

[Przeciszewski] Is it an easy discipline? Perhaps it yields surprises?

[Onyszkiewicz] I was aware that the Armed Forces had been perceived as yet another of the party's instruments, but I still came to the sector without a distorted picture of the Army, without any bias or prejudice. All the same, I am already having to adjust some of my earlier opinions about it. For example, the existing level of action and cooperation readiness, the willingess to accept new solutions and to take up the political challenges of the present time are much higher than I had assumed. This is a pleasant surprise.

[Przeciszewski] But do you not see the fears experienced by the Armed Forces? Do you not receive signals from military units that the Army does not want to be treated as a political instrument any longer? Because it is possible that after a while this "readiness to take up political challenges" could be assessed in quite a different light...

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army is no longer regarded as an instrument of any party, nor will it be so regarded in the future. It has become a nonpolitical institution. Recently, prior to the local government elections, I was asked at one of the garrisons that I was visiting whether a professional serviceman can run as candidate from a Citizens Committee [KO] electoral list. I believe that military personnel should avoid political involvement. True, local self-government structures are not political bodies, but the KO could be treated as such. So it would be best if professional serviceman would run in the elections—if they wished to—as independent candidates...

[Przeciszewski] Forgive me, but could we talk about the assistance, in the form of transport, which the Army made available during the railroad workers strike in Pomerania? Was it not a political act to turn to the Army and to use soldiers in the crisis?

[Onyszkiewicz] Not at all. The principle of political noninvolvement cannot be equated with the Army's passive stance in the face of a danger threatening the functioning of the state and the life of our society. And the chance that the whole state transportation system would become paralysed certainly did pose such a danger. We made attempts to ease the crisis in the transportation system by engaging the Army's help in order to prevent that danger from becoming a reality. But we did it without the use of force! This is how things are done throughout the world. I remember the fire services strike in Britain. The Army was called in to help as a matter of course and hardly anyone blamed it for that. I say "hardly anyone" because at the time only marginal voices propounded an entirely different rhetorical argument.

[Przeciszewski] But there was a time when Solidarity itself criticized the use of the Army in similar circumstances...

[Onyszkiewicz] Similar circumstances? I disagree with this assertion. Solidarity always dissociated itself from strikes affecting railroad or hospital services. So there were no strikes there, and the Army did not have to help anyone. If, however, to quote an example, the Army was used to help print TRYBUNA LUDU during the press workers strike, that was a completely different matter. The publishing of one paper was certainly not a question of existential significance for the whole state, and that was the point of our criticism.

[Przeciszewski] I know that some military people regard your own and Mr. Komorowski's appointment as the start of some kind of a "purge" in the Army. Are you aware of this?

[Onyszkiewicz] The very day after I was appointed, I declared that I would not play the role of inquisitor or a person who is taking the MON to account for its past. I do not intend to back out from that statement.

[Przeciszewski] In that case, how would you answer the assertion that a strict nomenklatura system operates within the Army from, say, the rank of battalion commander?

[Onyszkiewicz] I have certainly heard questions about it, that is true. But let us not beat about the bush: Party nomenklatura in the Army operated on completely different principles from [the one] in civilian life. Since the predominant proportion of Army personnel were party members anyway, the practice of favoritism in respect of party members could not have made a great difference. But this does not mean that no party members deserved the commanding positions that they held in the Armed Forces. Far be it from me to treat any of those military men who carried the party card as redundant in the Army today, as people who should now be shoved aside. I also want to avoid another pitfall—that is, to favor those who were nonparty men before. After all, all military promotions and nominations must be a consequence of the candidates professional achievement, not of their biographical data.

[Przeciszewski] So it is not your intention to change the face of the Army?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Army must be different, and I—as a member of the sector's leadership team—am responsible for the success of the reforms which we are implementing. First, we are thoroughly reorganizing the whole instruction and direction program. We have ended the practice of imposing or favoring a particular world view, and in the new instruction and edification process we are beginning to draw on the finest traditions of our Army, some of which have been forgotten, ignored, and even negated in the past years. Second, we are introducing organizational changes...

[Przeciszewski] A fair proportion of military personnel view these changes somewhat unfavorably. Is this not a paradox?

[Onyszkiewicz] Restructuring was begun at the level of line units, which immediately gave rise to fears that it would only affect the "bottom structures." In any case, the restructuring process will not stop at regiments or battalions. It will now involve MON administration and central institutions. In the next two or three years 25-30 percent of personnel employed in these departments will be affected by the restructuring, and over the next five years the figure will go up to 50 percent. Certainly we will see some "thinning out" at the top. Despite the fact that in Poland there is one general to every 380 officers, while in France the proportion is 1 to 80 and in Italy 1 to 60, we will now go back to prewar numbers and we will have less than 100 generals. This year 35 generals will be moved to the reserve list and the same number or more will follow next year. We will also say goodbye to a considerably larger number of colonels. So the Army will undergo much change. Besides, we are opting for changing it gradually to a professional military force and we want to introduce contract service.

[Przeciszewski] In your opinion, will the new Army's new face also mean new tasks?

[Onyszkiewicz] Most certainly. The Warsaw Pact was "cemented" together by its ideology and based on political domination and—this being its major foundation—on a clear-cut vision of the enemy. We know who the latter was: NATO, naturally. The consequence of this was the given configuration of forces and logistical backup facilities—on each side, of course; however, all this is beginning to change slowly now. What threat can we talk about at present? I think that one of the new dangers is the possibility of a rise in nationalist tendencies in our part of the world.

[Przeciszewski] Nationalist tendencies are not limited to our countries alone.

[Onyszkiewicz] True, but thanks to the introduction of a variety of integration mechanisms, West Europe has managed to deal with them, though not eradicate them completely. So over there they do not indulge in such feverish nationalist passions as could seriously jeopardize political stability. Whereas over here everything is one big unknown at the present time. The straitjacket of socialism has been split open—so what next? At the moment Poland is squeezed between the two areas of major political changes: Germany and the Soviet Union. It is not completely impossible that in the future nationalist tendencies will arise again in Germany; nor do we know the future conclusion of the process of changes now taking place in the East. As if this were not enough, there has been a revival of Slovak nationalist feeling, which until now was considered practically extinct. Czechoslovakia is certainly facing a difficult problem today, as the nationalist aspirations of the Slovak people are rising—and these, in their most radical form, involve demands for the creation of an independent Slovak state. We could encounter similar nationalist aspirations over our eastern border, too.

[Przeciszewski] All the same, our fears are most often directed the other way, as confirmed by the results of opinion polls conducted by the Public Opinion Study Center [CBOS]. To put it simply, we are still afraid of the Germans. Do you share this fear?

[Onyszkiewicz] We can view German unification both with fear and with hope. Both these feelings are fully justified. After all, past German history still carries the tremendous burden of the tragedy of World War II, but at the same time German unification is regarded as an opportunity in which we should all invest.

[Przeciszewski] And do you—in your capacity as the national defense minister responsible for questions of Polish Armed Forces alliances, disarmament negotiations, and future practical disarmament problems, as well as international contacts—agree to invest in this opportunity?

[Onyszkiewicz] For all of us, the question of German unification is a bit like a headlong dive into deep water. We must do it, however. The German states have the right to be united. Furthermore, it also represents a further dismantling of many forms of the Yalta treaty in Europe and an opening up of possibilities to build a new Europe. The new situation carries with it new fears, but we must not approach this process exclusively as a new major threat. It is not true that Poles and Germans are irrevocably doomed to remain each other's enemies. An historic chance has appeared now to overcome this stereotype.

[Przeciszewski] Even at the price of NATO military structures coming up to the Odra line?

[Onyszkiewicz] No one talks about this.

[Przeciszewski] Let me put the question differently: Do you believe so firmly in the Warsaw Pact's power of defense against the possible threats developing in the future?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Pact is changing as we watch, and it will continue to change. For one thing, the German People's Army will drop out of it. When will that happen? Perhaps soon, perhaps in a few years time. Hungary's status in not quite clear, either.

[Przeciszewski] They state outright that they want to leave the pact.

[Onyszkiewicz] After my recent talks with representatives of many political forces in Hungary, I came to the conclusion that they are not likely to do this. On the other hand, they tend to favor the option that the Pact should be preserved but that they should assume an altogether passive role within it, which would eventually—sooner or later—lead to its natural death. I believe that this approach is erroneous.

[Przeciszewski] Why?

[Onyszkiewicz] The Warsaw Pact still has certain tasks to fulfill; therefore, it should be reformed.

[Przeciszewski] In which direction?

[Onyszkiewicz] We can say with every assurance that the Warsaw Pact will function as long as we have to contend with the Soviet Union's military presence in the territory of the present GDR and the associated problem of the Soviet troops stationed in Poland. However, the Pact can no longer be only an extension of the Soviet military structure over other countries Armed Forces. Until now we have always talked about the allied forces, but did they all have equal status in real terms? This will have to be changed. We also need to introduce a rotation system in command posts. Besides, the Warsaw Pact should become a system designed to guarantee mutual regional security when it comes to a potential threat to that security from the outside, but also to ensure increased internal security within ti.

[Przeciszewski] In that case its doctrine will have to be altered...

[Onyszkiewicz] That is the logical conclusion. The stance assumed by Poland will also strongly influence the change in the perception of the potential military action. Minister Skubiszewski's Sejm declaration stating that the Polish Armed Forces will only be deployed in the country's defense has certain practical consequences for the functioning of the whole pact. I think that it should also have certain perceivable consequences in the West.

[Przeciszewski] But for the time being the Danes fear our landing craft and are sounding the alarm, arguing that Poland is arming itself too extensively.

[Onyszkiewicz] That was an isolated case, based on common mistrust. But let me tell you again that I have every hope that the evolution now taking place within the Warsaw Pact will be noticed by NATO and that it will bear fruit very soon in the form of a change in the latter's military doctrine.

[Przeciszewski] But let us go back to the question of the Soviet troops stationed in Poland. You know people's feelings on this matter...

[Onyszkiewicz] People's feelings vary. In any case, not everyone insists that we say goodbye to them as soon as possible. Some time back, when I was not even dreaming of holding a MON office, I took part in a live radio program devoted to this very subject. I was impressed at the time by the very large number of people who phoned in to say that we should not hurry this move, that there was still plenty of time in which to do it, that we should consider such a move very carefully. And this is how it should be...

[Przeciszewski] You are saying things which are not very popular...

[Onyszkiewicz] As recently as two years back no one in opposition circles would have dared to come out with such a view. But now? Now the view prevails that Poland is a sovereign and independent country. The presence of the Soviet forces here is no longer seen as a symbol of our status as a USSR satellite. This is accompanied by the appreciation—albeit, admittedly, not fully realized—that as long as Soviet troops remain in the territory of the present GDR, we must also come to terms with their presence here. However, this does not necessarily mean that their numbers should remain as high as they have been until now, or that they should enjoy any special privileges and concessions here. But this is a subject for a whole separate conversation.

[Przeciszewski] Have you already had a chance to present your viewpoint to the Soviet side?

[Onyszkiewicz] During my visit to Moscow I talked to Minister Yazov, among others.

[Przeciszewski] And?

[Onyszkiewicz] I was the first civilian representative of our sector to cross the threshold of the Soviet Defense Ministry, and perhaps at the very start of our talks there was a feeling that the situation was uncommon in their eyes, but this feeling was quickly dispelled. I left with positive impressions.

[Przeciszewski] Thank you for talking to us.

Future Financial Activity, Measures Reported

AU2307151590 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 16 Jul 90 p 3

[Alina Bialkowska report: "What Will Happen in the Second Half of The Year"]

[Text] The Ministry of Finance, in cooperation with IMF representatives, has drafted a second letter to the IMF, following the first one sent in December. If the IMF approves it, it will signify continued approval of the Polish economic program in the eyes of the world, and a further installment of credits from the IMF.

The letter is essential. Some of the information, according to which the IMF assesses the implementation of the program, has deviated from what was originally planned, for example, inflation in 1990 was meant to be no more than 95 percent, and yet prices rose by 163 percent up to the end of May.

The draft letter was discussed by the Council of Ministers Economic Committee on Sunday.

Objectives

The stabilization of prices will continue to be the major objective. Inflation should not exceed 15 percent from July to the end of September, and in the final quarter it should fall by about 1 percent per month (not counting

seasonal and official price increases). All in all, price increases in the second half of the year should not exceed 18 percent.

Taxes

It was originally planned that there would be a budget deficit in the first half of the year, and yet a budget surplus of about 17 trillion zlotys [Z] was achieved, which is 3 percent of the net national income. The government foresees a considerable budget deficit in the second half of the year, in the region of Z13 trillion. The reason is that some expenditures, meant to have taken place earlier, have been delayed, apart from which the costs of housing construction and agricultural costs are to increase, and greater funds are to be provided for regional budgets.

Credits

The 34 percent annual interest rate on credits granted for financial restructuring may change. It may even fall, provided that inflation "adheres to the plan." However, it may also rise, if prices increase above the planned level.

Wages

The government foresees a rise in real wages in the second half of the year. The wages fund will probably rise by 15 percent between June and September, and by 20 percent between September and December. In the future, the government wants to abandon legal restrictions on wages, but for the time being this is an "important defense against inflation."

Trade and Currency Policy

The difference between the official rate of exchange and the rate of exchange offered by currency exchange booths [kantor] is very small; it was in the region of 1 percent in June. Therefore, the government is planning to give licensed owners of exchange booths "access to foreign hard currency banks."

The ceiling for credits for import purposes will probably double (to $1 million). The sale of goods for hard currency in Poland is to disappear beginning in January.

Structural Changes

Ten large enterprises are to find themselves in private hands by the end of the year, and the assets of between 200 and 300 smaller ones will be sold off following their liquidation.

Competition will be fostered by:

—Breaking existing monopolies (the demonopolization of grain processing will commence at the beginning of September, and the monopolies on milk production and insurance will disappear somewhat later). About 70 percent of state retail outlets will be privately owned by the end of the year;
—Giving tax concessions to private firms;
—Abolishing the restrictions on the transfer of profits for foreign investments;
—Greater quantities of foreign goods (a reduction in import duties).

The government is "seriously worried" that so few enterprises are going bankrupt. Ten enterprises are to close down by September, and by the end of December action will be taken to close down every enterprise that was in financial arrears at the end of September.

Planned changes to the banking system include a more efficient transfer of payments, and a more rapid appearance of branches of foreign banks in Poland.

A uniform income tax for enterprises and for individuals is to be introduced as of January. Value added tax will not replace turnover tax until 1992.

Social Security

Budget contributions to the Labor Fund have been raised. The government is working on a youth employment program, which is meant to encourage young people to work. However, the criteria for unemployment benefit will be made more stringent, and the benefit itself will be payable for a maximum of one year.

What Next?

The letter to the IMF says that it is almost impossible right now to determine the exact prospects for the Polish economy. The program should lead to an unrestricted rise in productivity and investments in the second half of the year. "However, we have no doubt that the fall in production at the beginning of the year may be balanced out, and we think this is likely considering the fact that a major proportion of products is on the threshold of unprofitability," says the letter.

The produced national income in real terms, over the entire year, may be about 10 percent less than normal. Unemployment may reach from 1 to 1.2 million (about 6 percent of the working population).

The surplus of convertible currency will remain, although imports should increase and exports decrease by the end of the year.

Unless Polish debts are reduced, there is no question of rebuilding and maintaining the development of the Polish economy.

Unemployment, Education Statistics Reported

AU2407092190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Jul 90 p 3

["pn"-signed report: "Group Layoffs On the Way"]

[Text] The Labor Protection Office of "Solidarity's" Mazowsze chapter reports that there were 568,000

unemployed people in Poland on 30 June. Almost 125,000 of these lost their jobs in June.

At the beginning of July, the voivodships of Katowice, Lodz, and Bydgoszcz had the greatest unemployment, and the voivodships of Chelm and Biala Podlaska the least.

Some 58,000 people lost their jobs as a result of group dismissals. But as many as 7,380 plants had announced layoffs before 30 June. These could involve almost 295,000 people. The largest number of layoffs has been announced in Warsaw and Katowice Voivodships, and the lowest number in Biala Podlaska and Leszno Voivodships.

On 30 June only one out of every 13 unemployed people had a chance of finding a job through the Labor Exchange, except in Warsaw, where the number of job vacancies is almost equal to the number of job seekers. However, 87 percent of the vacancies were for blue-collar posts. The situation of women deteriorated markedly. There was only one female job vacancy for every 30 unemployed females.

Between 310,000 and 380,000 young people will complete post-elementary education this year, of whom between 32,000 and 36,000 will gain college diplomas. It is thought that only 150,000-160,000 will find work.

Of those holding university degrees, teachers will have the least trouble finding jobs. Lawyers, engineers, agricultural scientists, and economists will be in a worse situation.

Spokesman Denies Jaruzelski Resignation Rumors

LD2307180890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Today's edition of PO PROSTU carries the news that Wojciech Jaruzelski means to take, or has indeed already taken, official steps toward tendering his resignation from the post of president. According to what we have been told by the press spokesman of the president, any information concerning the resignation of Wojciech Jaruzelski is untrue. The president is, however, ready to submit himself to public judgment [osad publiczny], especially that of a parliamentary debate.

Walesa Assesses Citizens Committee Meeting

LD2307211790 Warsaw PAP in English 1853 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Gdansk, July 23—Asked to assess Sunday meeting of representatives of Citizens' Committees, which he did not attend due to poor health condition, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said:

"The committees should settle local problems by themselves. They should also look at the main goal of our movement. We have overcome the old system. While building a new one we should follow European example for we want to belong to Europe.

"So let us look at France, at Sweden, the FRG. It is committees' task to stir up, to help, to watch, explain and adapt to pluralism and democracy for such is the situation in the world we are heading for. But every manipulation, either by Walesa or anyone else, carries us away and hampers our activity on this road."

New Solidarity Group ROAD Established

AU2407084990 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Jul 90 p 1

["ab"-signed report: "Bujak, Frasyniuk: Leaders of the Action"]

[Text] Almost 100 people met in the Sejm on Monday in order to form a new political group—the Citizens Committee-Democratic Action [Ruch Obywatelski-Akcja Demokratyczna], in other words ROAD (after the English word for "road"). They include "Solidarity" activists, founders of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee, and members of local citizens committees.

The list of members with parliamentary seats includes Henryk Wujec, Barbara Labuda, Andrzej Wajda, Grazyna Staniszewska, Jan Rokita, Adam Michnik, Cezary Jozefiak, Gustaw Holoubek, Zofia Kuratowska, and Andrzej Lapicki. The list of members of the government includes Janusz Grzelak and Stefan Starczewski. Other members include Jerzy Turowicz, Kazimierz Dziewanowski, Stefan Bratkowski, and Artur Miedzyrzecki.

This group has been talked about for several months. It was expected to emerge following the two Krakow meetings organized by Jerzy Turowicz.

The Action wants to see a presidential election as quickly as possible, in which the president would be elected by a general election, in accordance with the resolution of the Second "Solidarity" Congress. The founding declaration states that the Action will participate in future elections "in concert with the forces that subscribe to the 'Alliance for Democracy.'"

The Action's program calls for a stable parliamentary democracy; civil liberties; equal rights for all citizens, regardless of religion, world outlook, or origin; and a state role restricted to the bare essentials.

Zbigniew Bujak said at a news conference: "We want the citizens committees to be our partners." The Action intends to be a strong alternative to the Center Accord. It does not want to serve as a backup for the government, although it does describe itself as a group that supports the philosophy of the Mazowiecki government, in other words, the rule of law, and the speaking of the truth. It wants to avail itself of parliamentary pressure in order to amend the government program. In the opinion of its members, it is essential to eliminate the vestiges of the

old system, animate privatization (but this must be accompanied by a cohesive program of social policy), and help rural areas. It wants to put forth its own, alternative solution.

"Communism has left a great gap between the state and the individual, which we must fill together," say the signatories in an appeal which calls for social energy as a substitute for government by decrees.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk and Zbigniew Bujak were appointed acting chairmen of the Action until its next meeting on 28 July. Acting chairmen of field offices and the organizational office were also appointed.

ROAD's Frasyniuk on Objectives

AU2407091190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 17 Jul 90 p 2

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, acting chairman of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action, by Anna Bikont; place and date not given: "A New Movement"]

[Text] [Bikont] Acceleration was the Center Accord's slogan. What is the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action [ROAD] bringing to the political market?

[Frasyniuk] The slogan "forward, but without violence." Our first political objective is to bring about an earlier presidential election, in which the president would be elected by the entire nation. We think the presidential campaign that has just been started is the cause of the destabilization in our political life. The only solution is to shorten the campaign.

[Bikont] ROAD's declaration talks of opposing "demagogy, contradictory demands, and vain hopes of easy solutions." To whom does this apply?

[Frasyniuk] To those who think that government by decree, authoritarian government, is capable of inspiring social and economic change, and is an alternative to the reaching of decisions and taking of risks by ordinary people. I think slogans like this delay the process of democratization, and calling for a strong president encourages chaos and disorder. We prefer a strong government and parliament.

[Bikont] Why have you waited so long?

[Frasyniuk] It was not an easy decision. It can be viewed as an attempt to split "Solidarity." I think that for us cofounders of "Solidarity," the basic value is the preservation of a strong workers organization. "Solidarity's" quality was its ability to reconcile the various streams within it. Today in "Solidarity" a single group with a single concept of exercising power has emerged, the Center Accord. There has to be room for people with different orientations than those of the Center Accord.

[Bikont] Yours is a political movement headed by two workers. Is that typical of Poland?

[Frasyniuk] Everyone in this hall pursues the "Solidarity" code. "Solidarity's" greatest value has been the integration of milieux, the disappearance of the division of workers and intelligentsia.

[Bikont] Zbigniew Bujak recently spoke about the need for a majority group in the Sejm to stabilize government policies. Is the Krakow "Alliance for Democracy" meant to be such a group?

[Frasyniuk] I think ROAD should now appoint a group to negotiate with people representing various streams. I am convinced they should talk to people incorporated in the Alliance, for example, members of the Forum of the Democratic Right. The Alliance will have a majority in the next parliament, because it represents values to which society feels close.

[Bikont] What is ROAD's attitude toward the citizens committees?

[Frasyniuk] We will be present in the citizens committees as a counterweight to the Center Accord. However, we would like membership in ROAD to be the result of individual decisions.

OPZZ Chairman on Launching Election Campaign

LD2307220290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] We cannot continue agreeing to a situation in which we do not have clear representation in parliament, despite the fact that we are the largest trade union organization, said OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, in reply to a question by a PAP journalist on the reasons for this confederation's decision to start its election campaign to parliament. The OPZZ, stated Miodowicz, also wants to take part in the elections and to field its own candidates. We want to go arm in arm with all those for whom the aims of our revindicative trade union movement are dear. Our [word indistinct] is precisely the creation of agreement between working people, a movement, it would appear, which gives hope, because it is oriented toward (?winning over people) for whom politics is only part of their lives, and these predomiante our six million strong movement. However, the final decision as to (?who we go along with) will be taken in a few months, when the political scene becomes clearer. In any case, indicated the OPZZ c[illegible]rman, we cannot go into an alliance with a part which has ambitions of playing a leading role. That is because this tripped us up during last year's elections, when we entered into an alliance with the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party].

Murder Case of Reverend Zych Reexamined

LD2307210590 Warsaw PAP in English 1944 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 23—In the case of the death of Rev. Sylwester Zych, who died in unexplained circumstances on July 12, 1989, one thing is for sure, namely that he

died after suffering from vascular system trouble due to an over-exposure to alcohol, PAP learned at the prosecutor's department of the Ministry of Justice. Blood tests have confirmed this.

There are still various versions, such as that the priest died suddenly or that he fell prey to revenge in connection with the murder of militia officer Karos (Zych hid the weapon which was used in the murder and had contacts with the murderers).

The prosecutor is trying to determine what Rev. Zych was doing and whom he contacted after he had left the parish in Braniewo on the morning of July 10 last year. On that day he is said to have appeared at the Riviera Restaurant in Krynica Morska. He was later found dead at a nearby bus stop.

The prosecutor's department has rejected the claim of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that Rev. Zych was not followed by the services of the ministry and asked its 4th department to turn in relevant files.

The investigation also aims to explain whether it was possible to enter a significant amount of alcohol (at least a liter of vodka) into Rev. Zych's body not through his mouth.

The public has questioned earlier findings and demanded to have the case re-opened.

Szczecin Press Developments Outlined

AU2407081990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jul 90 p 2

[Olgierd Wojciechowicz report: "Different Papers in Szczecin"]

[Text] Wladyslaw Daniszewski, head of the local chapter of the Association of Polish Journalists, has been acting as a liquidator of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Workers Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] since May. His work has mainly concerned three publications published by the Szczecin Press Publishing House: GAZETA PORANNA, KURIER SZCZECINSKI, and the weekly MORZE I ZIEMIA.

Three chief editors have been replaced. Anna Wieckowska-Machay replaced Ireneusz Jelonek at KURIER SZCZECINSKI; Mieczyslaw Kaczanowski went to GLOS SZCZECINSKI (the previous chief editor has become his deputy); and Mariusz Czarniecki succeeded Ryszard Liskowacki at MORZE I ZIEMIA. The former chief editors of KURIER and MORZE I ZIEMIA have retired.

There are also two union publications on the Szczecin press market: JEDNOSC—a "Solidarity" publication; and SOLIDARNOSC SZCZECINSKA—a "Solidarity-80" weekly. Due to financial difficulties both come out every two weeks. A four page Szczecin supplement to GAZETA WYBORCZA appears every Friday.

There are about 90 journalists working in this city of almost 400,000, and according to Wladyslaw Daniszewski, there is no possibility of unemployment occurring among journalists in the near future.

Of the three Polish United Workers Party titles, only MORZE I ZIEMIA is experiencing losses, which have amounted to about 24 million zlotys for the first five months of this year.

The Pomorze West "Solidarity" Regional Board has asked the union's National Commission to support its efforts to acquire one of the dailies and create a citizens newspaper linked to the ideals of the "Solidarity" movement. Unionists are convinced that the paper would be able to support itself and might even turn a profit. Wladyslaw Daniszewski says that the union would be unable to maintain a high quality paper, and assumes that it would dismiss everyone who fought against "Solidarity" during martial law.

The Szczecin Region Citizens Committee would also like to have an opportunity to present its views in its own paper. However, it has not come forward with a proposal to take over any of the former RSW titles. This might stem from the fact that the Citizens Committee is undergoing something of a metamorphosis at the present time. There is a debate in progress about the possibility of forming a federation comprising all the committees in Szczecin Voivodship, and activists will only begin to consider publishing their own newspaper once this matter is settled.

Senate Proceedings Resume; Recess Postponed

AU2307152290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1437 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania's Senate resumed its work in plenum Monday afternoon [23 July].

Opening the meeting, Alexandru Birladeanu brought to the attention of the audience the bills the government and certain ministries had submitted to the Senate for discussion during that week. They are: a bill on Romania's joining the European Organisation for Satellite Telecommunications "Eutelsat" and the International Organisation for Maritime Telecommunications by Satellites, "Inmarsat"; a bill against unauthorised trade, another on the legal status of inland maritime waters, territorial sea and Romania's contigual zone, another on the child benefits payable by the state, and yet another on the temporary suspension of farmland sales and of adoptions. The business company bill will be discussed after it is submitted to a public debate.

The Senate president resumed the idea that Parliament should adjourn for a summer recess only after the above bills are passed. The senators agreed to both the week's subjects for discussion and the postponed parliamentary recess.

Further on Debate; To Resume 24 Jul

AU2307191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1721 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—After unanimously approving this week's schedule of debates, the senators put questions to the government and some ministries. They referred especially to the delayed land bill, the farmers' pensions, the county budgets, the publication and debate in the press of bills regarding the trade and learning systems, the cancellation of taxes imposed on the persons who cannot have children, the situation of the teaching staff the students refused after the revolution, railroad banditry fighting and the terms when county prefects are to be appointed.

Next, the senators heard the government's rationale of the bill regarding the commercial-based organization and functioning of state economic units presented by Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament. Mr. Adrian Severin answered then the senators' questions explaining certain formulations referring, inter alia, to the government's outlook on and the specific ways for a passage to the market economy.

In connection with that bill the Senate's president invited Academician N. N. Constantinescu, secretary-general of the General Association of Economists in Romania, to take the floor. He underscored the need that the respective law should specifically approach the economic units' organization and functioning with which trade unions should also get acquainted. Privatization must make the subject of a special law, the speaker specified.

In the last part of the session led by Senate's Vice-President Radu Campeanu, by-article debates started on the bill regarding the commercial-based organization and functioning of state economic units. After nearly one-hour discussions, the first three articles were approved with some amendments proposed by the Senate's Standing Economic Commission. The chief amendment refers to the law's title which, after the senators' vote, it reads, the Law of State Economic Units as Autonomous and Trading Companies.

The plenary session ended. The Senate's relevant Standing Commissions continued debating the package of laws forwarded by the government.

The Senate resumes its works Tuesday morning [24 July].

Minister on Priorities in Telecommunications

AU2307123690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0746 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—Our efforts focus on the improvement of the activity in telephony where we intend to raise the services quality, stated Engineer Andrei Chirica, minister of telecommunications, mentioning that Romania ranks among the last countries in Europe because of its telephonic density 10 subscribers in 100 inhabitants. Completely unsatisfactory is also the automatic connection to the international system.

The minister showed the difficult situation in telecommunications derived from the policy having been promoted in the last years to stop the information transmission. The transmission of data, telephony, telefax, the national radio and television programmes are questions which should be immediately solved.

The Romanian Government allots important financial resources, hard currency included, for the development of the international telephonic traffic and the expansion of the second television programme which will be received by almost 50 percent of the population until 1991 and by the entire population until 1993.

Still this year an international automatic telephonic plant will be commissioned which will contribute to improve the current traffic and will make possible the gradual transition starting next year to the automatic connection to international network, Mr. Andrei Chirica stated. In achieving this goal Romania will be helped by the West German company "Siemens" and the French company "Alcatel." We are also helped by the postal services and telecommunications administration in France with which we are collaborating for the elaboration of the directive plan until the year 2005.

Demarches have been made for Romania's adherence to international satellite telecommunications organisations: Eutelsat, for Europe, and Intelsat, for transcontinental links,

and we have asked to become a member of Inmarsat organisation for the sea fleets' communication traffic. Taking into consideration all this as well as our active participation in the International Telecommunications Union and the Universal Postal Services Union where Romania has been a member for tens of years we think we have made the first steps to re-integrate into the European and world postal services and telecommunications system, the minister of telecommunications underscored.

Steps To Limit Economic Restrictions Discussed

AU2307124590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—Measures have been recently taken to decentralize the decisionmaking process and to eliminate some restrictions in the enterprises' economic activity, stated Mr. Eugen Goga, deputy minister of finances to the "ADEVARUL" daily.

A first normative act to this end refers to the introduction of a tax on the state-run units' benefit which replaces the payment from benefit which did not permit economic units could make use of the necessary resources from the benefits for their development and stimulating funds. [as received]

A second normative act stipulates new measures concerning the financing and crediting investments of state-run units as well as the transfer of fixed assets between state-run units. It aims to ensure a full autonomy of units because the resources destined to finance investments remain completely at the disposal of the units which had created them. At the same time a single investment fund was created at the level of each state-run enterprise.

Both normative acts apply starting January 1, 1990.

Christian Republican Party Congress Convened

AU2307155590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1434 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—A congress of the Christian Republican Party of Romania was held on 20 July, says a communique of its National Council and Steering Board sent to ROMPRES.

The agenda included a report on party work over 10 April-20 July 1990 read by Gheorghe Popilean—the party's chairman—measures to improve its activity, the dismissal of a dissident group from the party and from their party offices, discussions on the proposed merger with other parties.

The so-called extraordinary congress held on 12 July on the initiative of a dissident group and non-party members was proclaimed "illegal and non-statutory" by participants who decided "to dismiss from the party the seven dissidents on charges of acting as if they were the party's lawful leadership, of abusively occupying the party head offices, stealing party documents and calling a so-called extraordinary congress against statutory provisions."

The congress decided to fill the vacancies of the party's National Council and elected a Steering Committee whose chairman is Gheorghe Popilean. It also decided to establish the party's youth organization and rejected the merger proposal of a 11-party grouping.

'Young Wing' of National Liberal Party Registers

AU2307155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—The National Liberal Party's young wing registered as an artificial person at Bucharest's City Court Monday [23 July] morning after the court ruled on the National Liberal Party's protest to the name of the new political party. [sentence as received]

After a substantive discussion in which both parties upheld their case, the court registered the National Liberal Party the Young Wing, whose main political target is to bring the whole liberal movement into one stream to build up a strong credible opposition as a viable alternative.

The court dismissed as unfounded the National Liberal Party's request for intervention.

UDMR Executive Committee Meets; Strategy Viewed

AU2307192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1600 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—On July 20 and 21, 1990 the Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania held a meeting in Miercurea Ciuc attended by representatives of the member organizations, shows a communique the MDUR [UDMR] remitted to ROMPRES.

Following the situation after elections a new strategy should be worked out to approach all spheres of safeguarding our interests, the communique states because there still are forces that want to create social tension to put a brake on the country's democratization. The poisoning of relations between the Romanian nation and the Hungarian minority is part and parcel of these forces' strategy. We are convinced and we assert we cannot represent our nationality's interests otherwise than in cooperation with the Romanian nation finding understanding and approval in our endeavours, the communique specifies.

In connection with tuition in the mother tongue, the Executive Committee heard an account presented by the Bolyai society which shows that admission examinations at the University of Cluj, the Polytechnic and Medical-Pharmaceutics Institutes of Tirgu Mures and at other higher learning institutes could again be given in the Hungarian and that, starting this autumn, Hungarian study groups will be formed.

The Executive Committee debated the economic concepts of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania. In his address the representative of the Hungarian Small Agrarians' Party spoke about the results obtained in changing ownership relations in agriculture, the MDUR [UDMR] being a supporter of private initiative.

Cultural associations and societies were set up, and there is a need to unite them under a coordinating centre: The Hungarian Cultural Association in Transylvania, the communique also shows.

The Executive Committee took stand regarding the anomalies produced in the trial against the persons arrested during the events in Tirgu Mures, the communique specifies.

Former PEC Officials' Trial Continues in Capital

AU2307191690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1733 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—The case of 24 full and non-voting members of the former CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Political Executive Committee [PEC] charged with the crime of genocide was resumed at the Bucharest Military Court on 23 July. The 24 are: Stefan Andrei, Lina Ciobanu, Nicolae Constantin, Silviu Curticeanu, Gheorghe David, Constantin Dascalescu, Miu Dobrescu, Ludovic Fazekas, Suzana Gadea, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Ana Muresan, Paul Niculescu-Mizil, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Dumitru Popescu, Constantin Radu, Ion Radu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Ion Stoian, Iosif Szasz, Ioan Toma, Ioan Totu.

After the roll-call, the Court presided over by Justice Cpt. Bogdan Graur asked, in keeping with the criminal procedure, if the prosecutor, the defenders and the defendants had any requests to make or exceptions to claim.

The prosecutor asked the Court to order a medical examination of defendants Constantin Dascalescu, Nicolae Giosan and Gheorghe Radulescu that should show to what extent their condition prevented them or not from being in Court.

At the same time, a request was made for the investigative custody to be dropped and for detention conditions to be improved, as well as for the file of the case to be given to the defendants to study it.

In connection with the request, the Court ruled that the defendants who were not in Court should undergo a medical examination, and so should defendants Lina Ciobanu, Miu Dobrescu, Suzana Gadea, Constantin Nicolae, Stefan Andrei, Dumitru Popescu, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Stoian, Gheorghe David, Constantin Olteanu in order to know if their health was such as to cope with detention conditions. As concerns defendants Ana Muresan, Ion Radu, and Paul Niculescu-Mizil, the Court announced that their files with the request for their investigative custody to be dropped had already been submitted to medical examiners.

The court rejected the request to suspend the investigative custody for the defendants who did not apply for a medical examination along with that for the whole file to be placed at the disposal of the defendants to study them arguing that each defendant knew what the file comprised.

The Court turned down the request of Mihai Gere's defender for his client to undergo urgent surgery at the Central Military Hospital not at the Jilava Prison Hospital.

Concerning the change of detention conditions rated as inadequate by defendants, the matter should be taken to the Ministry of the Interior, it was shown, as it was beyond the competence of the Court.

The case was postponed for 8 August at 0900 a.m. so that the requests which were granted could be complied with.

'Romanian Teachers for Peace' Movement Created

AU2307124390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0902 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 23 Jul (ROMPRES)—A group of researchers from the Romanian Institute for Education Sciences has founded the movement "Romanian Teachers for Peace." The purpose of the movement is the education of the young generation in the spirit of nonviolence, peace, promotion of humanitarian and democratic values. The wish was also expressed to correlate the Romanian educators' preoccupations with those of the world "Teachers for Peace" Movement.

* Roman, Iliescu Welcome New Government

* Ceremony Described

90P20077A Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] The ceremony presenting the members of the government took place at the headquarters of the president of the Republic.

Addressing the president of Romania, Ion Iliescu and the presidents of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, Alexandru Birladeanu and Dan Martian, prime minister, Petre Roman, stressed that the government formed after the free elections of 20 May has before it a program of radical changes, of an historic nature for the country. In this context, the Romanian premier referred to the tasks of the government in placing the economy on sound bases, in reforming and transforming the economy into a market economy, in linking it to the world economy. He pointed out that this effort, which requires sacrifices, imposes upon the government the will to protect strata of the population, in relation to the effects of the planned reforms. The Romanian prime minister stressed the difficult mission assumed and expressed the conviction that this government will find confidence and support both from Parliament and from the population.

In his speech, Ion Iliescu congratulated the members of the new government and expressed confidence that they will succeed, despite the great difficulties which our country is experiencing—the economic crisis, the social crisis—to carry out the high mission which has been entrusted to them by the Parliament. The planned reforms require sacrifices, but the program of the government has in view the social protection of the principal categories of the population so that the repercussions of the reforms will not be so painful, Mr. Iliescu stated.

* Roman Speech

90P20077B Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5 Jul 90 pp 1, 7

[Text] Mr. President, Presidents [of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies]

We are here to present the members of the government of Romania, approved by decision of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, the Parliament of Romania.

Mr. President,

Please permit me, in the name of the government, to express some of our thoughts at the beginning of the road.

You have a thorough knowledge of the Declaration-Program of the government and from the conversations which we have had I have understood that you support this program of the government. This is very important for us since it ensures, for its implementation, a balanced structure, a structure with a greater audience among our people, in you personally. This program is the program of a radical change, of an historic transformation for the fate of our country, in the first place, in regard to the placing of the Romanian economy on sound bases and the linking of the economy to the needs of the world community, and, at the same time, it is a program which integrates a social vocation, which integrates the desire to protect broad strata of the population in correlation with the obligatory objectives of reform. It is, as was said during its formulation, a program entailing very great responsibility for us since we want to re-establish the economy on a natural basis not only in accordance with the requirements of economic science but also in accordance with the needs and standards of modern life and of civilization in Europe and the whole world. Since, undoubtedly, it will be hard to implement this program and the difficulties will probably hit us at the very beginning, in our program we are preparing to place economic agents and operators in a formula of real independence vis-a-vis the state and the state will be the bearer of the public interest through legal and financial instruments, as is normal in a democracy.

We are aware of the fact that by assuming this responsibility, with competence, determination and honesty, we represent a certain form of confrontation with difficulties, but as servants of the government, all members of the government have accepted this difficult position.

In our mission we are relying, to a good extent, on the democratic instruments and the democratic institutions which have been formed in our country. I am referring, first of all, to your mission as president and to the Parliament with its two chambers—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. These are the laws by which the government can express its desires and its modes of action and by which the government can receive the necessary signs of social regulation and self-regulation. We are relying on the fact that in our country there is a sure potential of enterprising people who, in the framework of free action, therefore, in the framework of the clear economic freedom of our program, can make its contribution to the economic restoration which we propose, each in its own way, by its own means, in the framework of a commercial economic agent which forms the structure of socioeconomic life.

And finally, we are relying on the fact that if our action is honest, fair and put in the service of the nation, it will be respected as such by the people and if we are convinced that we will be able to rely on the support of the nation, to implement the program and to correct the action of the executive whenever it might depart from the legal framework or from the social framework.

We assure you, Mr. President and presidents [of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies], that the government, in its entirety, represents a natural extension of the will of the nation, expressed by the 20 May elections and that everything which we have proposed represents to us a law for our action. Therefore, we want to implement all these things. Nothing which we have proposed can be put aside, since all the components of our program are essential for the development of economic and social life in our country.

Mr. President, please accept, on the part of the government and all its members, a statement of loyalty to the country and the expression of the highest esteem for your mission.

Thank you.

* Iliescu Speech

90P20077C Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 5 Jul 90 pp 1, 7

[Text] Ministers,

Permit me, on this solemn occasion, to congratulate you, first of all, because of the confidence which has been placed in you as members of the first government resulting from the establishment of our state institutions after the 20 May elections. This confidence was strengthened by the vote of the deputies and senators of the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament in the elections of 20 May. Great confidence has been placed in you and, at the same time, you have assumed a great responsibility, as the prime minister has also stressed, since your mission is not easy.

As I said on another occasion: to govern under the conditions existing in our country today, removing the

country from the phenomena of profound crisis which the economy, social life, political life, and intellectual life of Romanian society has known is not easy and those who assume such a responsibility travel a road which is not an easy one.

Therefore, I would like to wish you success in your mission, in carrying out the great responsibility which you have to the country, to the citizens and to the voters, in the difficult mission which you have taken to carry out the objectives presented in the Declaration-Program of the government. This is a declaration which is in accordance with the wide-ranging elements which the Romanian voter voted for in the recent elections and which, according to what I have been able to learn, represents a platform of broad agreement for the major political forces in the country. In my speech to Parliament at the time of my inauguration as president and in the Declaration-Program which is in accordance with the dominant ideas of this speech, those elements and objectives with which the entire Romanian society is concerned were stated concretely. These are: the reform of the national economy, the ensuring of a broad and complex program for the transition of the Romanian economy from a structure based on the supercentralization of the economy and the ignoring of economic laws, based on administrative factors, to a market economy, placed on normal, natural bases, which take account of the real processes which are taking place in society and the progress which marks contemporary development. Also, this program is geared toward all aspects of social life and the combining of economic effectiveness, on the one hand, with the implementation of a social program which would protect large strata of the population and, therefore, would provide a program of social protection for the principal categories of members of our society, as well as a process of renewal in all spheres—education, science, culture, health, intellectual life, and Romanian society, in general—in all sectors which have been seriously affected, for a long time, by stagnation, by alienation from contemporary progress.

Such a complex program for the renewal of Romanian society presupposes the activation of all social factors capable of cooperating in its execution; it presupposes a broad cooperation with the principal political forces of the country and with the principal social forces of the country. Therefore, for the executive and for the government, this requires a continuing dialogue with the legislative organs, with Parliament, for the promotion of the necessary legislation for the implementation of this program of reforms and, a continuing dialogue with the country, listening to the demands, hopes, options, problems with which our society is confronted and appropriately adapting all actions to reality, to the real needs of Romanian society.

This will not be a simple program in another aspect. This transition from a rigid, closed structure and mechanism to a much more open economy and social life requires a radical change in mentalities. The very transition can be a shock. The transition and the transition period from an old structure to a new structure, from an old mechanism to a new mechanism require great knowledge and skill in carrying out a transition process which will not create blockages in the economic or social life of the country. Therefore, as I have said, the mission which awaits you is not easy and it is important that you have alongside you and that we have alongside us all the factors involved in this program of renewing Romanian society. I hope that we will find the necessary agreement in all social categories and all political forces of the country, which must support such an action which represents a national goal.

By the formation of the government we have completed the first phase of the process of setting the basis for the institutionalization of the democratic process of our formation, of our development. Now we must put an end to all the provisional elements in our social and political life, we must organize on a normal basis, on an effective basis, with all the necessary juridical and legal instruments and with all the other levers of action of the executive, which will permit us to attack head-on and resolve under the best possible conditions the major problems facing the country. This action must help us to utilize the most important resource in our society, the creative capacity of the people, the creative potential of all social categories and, first of all, the capacity for intellectual creation which constitutes a dynamic element of contemporary development, as well as the dynamism and desire of the youth to assert themselves.

The government itself is characterized by its youth. As an expression of the desire for innovation, the executive comes before the country as a unified team which acts on the basis of a common, unitary program which has the virtue of providing the potential for a young team, which must, in its turn, actively promote the enthusiasm and creative capacity of the youth in all sectors of activity. Of course, this does not mean that we should not utilize the full capacity the intellectual skills and life experience in the older generations who have always been an important support in our development.

With these thoughts, permit me, once more, to wish you success in your mission.

* Bank Official on Economic Decentralization

90BA0221A Bucharest TRIBUNA ECONOMICA in Romanian 15 Jun 90 pp 2-3

[Interview with Dan Pascariu, vice president of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, by Ioan Georgescu; place and date not given]

[Text] [Georgescu] One of the major conditions of progress toward the decentralization and privatization of the economy is that the banking and credit systems work in coordination with the needs of entrepreneurs. Mr. Vice President Dan Pascariu, please tell our readers about the efforts made in your branch for the purpose of meeting this kind of needs.

[Pascariu] In my opinion, the banking sector cannot be restructured only in one department or another; the change must be general. The cornerstones of the banking system will of course remain the central issue bank, which serves to ensure monetary stability and to control credit, on the one side, and the commercial and investment banks on the other. The central bank, i.e., Romania's National Bank, will utilize specific instruments in its work, such as: the official discount rate, premium [reescont] ceilings, obligatory minimum reserves, and open market stock transactions designed to ensure liquidity. However, a radical institutional (as well as legal) and practical change in accordance with international practices requires a variety of commercial and investment banks designed to offer a fertile meeting ground between the entrepreneurs' ideas and the means of implementing them: money. In order to explain more clearly the meaning of such a change we can take the example of the Investment Bank; until now, that bank worked as what in international terms would be a development bank (in charge of the administrative distribution of the state resources). Now this bank must turn into an investment bank for commercial loans (whereby the credit is expected to generate profit from the project it financed, part of which will be used to cover the cost of the loan and its repayment).

Similarly, specialized credit institutions will emerge—commercial banks—in various areas: industry, cooperative associations, agriculture, trade, tourism, etc. They will serve to fill a great vacuum in the current banking system, providing competing banks as viable partners in a competitive environment, which will closely cooperate with their partners—on the basis of the mechanism of interest—offering consultancy services and taking an active interest in the success of the enterprise financed. Thus, the capacity of the general banking system to assist the process of economic recovery of the country will increase.

[Georgescu] How can we ensure competitive interfacing between our financial-banking system and foreign capital investors so as to attract capital to our country?

[Pascariu] By diversifying the banking services we offer our customers and expanding our network (we have BRCE [Romanian Foreign Trade Bank] branches in Cluj, Iasi, Timisoara, Constanta, Brasov, and Suceava). The BRCE is prepared and even interested in eliminating the foreign currency monopoly. In point of fact, the bills drafted this year, under which small enterprises can keep 50 percent of the foreign currency earned, and similar regulations enacted in favor of certain ministries, enterprises, and cooperative associations have been important breakthroughs in the area of the currency monopoly. Similarly, the regulations governing foreign currency transfers in the case of commercial associations with participating foreign capital registered in Romania can be described as being in alignment with European practices. Thus, profits earned in foreign currency can be transferred in toto. If all the profits are in lei, the entire capital initially invested in foreign currency can be recovered by transferring eight percent annually over a period of 12 years. By following the trend of adopting certain uniform European legal norms we can develop a particularly attractive economic environment for foreign investors in Romania.

[Georgescu] At the beginning of our talk you mentioned the need for behavioral changes at institutional and individual levels as a sine-qua-non condition for the success of a new economy based on initiative in a conservative environment.

[Pascariu] A behavioral reform means that the Romanian banker must stop being a bureaucrat and become a businessman, while the banks must stop being service agencies of the government or of various branches and become institutions working to maximize profits by furnishing diversified and high quality services. Such a reform requires some basic financial principles designed to ensure financial discipline, such as: the adoption of certain bookkeeping standards and procedures; auditing procedures (to monitor bookkeeping); opening financial data to the public (whereby the commercial banks and various companies will publish balance sheet figures and gain and loss graphs).

The criteria on which loans are approved will be radically changed: instead of the administrative distribution of state funds at an insignificant rate of interest, the banks will approve loans on the basis of commercial and competitive criteria involving two elements. On the one hand there will be the competition among the banks, and on the other the competition among the customers with the most profitable projects. And finally, the level of the rate of interest will reflect the relationship between the liquidity demand and offer in the market, instead of being set by decree. The interest rates applicable to foreign currency of account will depend on interest rates in the respective national capital market or in the international market (for example in the case of European currencies), whereby each bank will inevitably rely on currency arbitrage operations.

The behavior of our partners in industry will change as the existing units become public or private commercial associations. This transition toward public companies is not necessarily predicated by (total or partial) privatization, but it is a necessary stage toward the decentralization of decisions, economic consolidation, profitability, and competitiveness abroad. The expansion of the network of public societies whose shares will begin to circulate and to be sold to individuals, too—partial privatization—will create conditions for beginning the transition to a capital market. One of the consequences that will become necessary will be a secondary shares and bonds market—a stock market.

[Georgescu] Do you have the necessary resources to rapidly implement this behavioral reform?

[Pascariu] As far as our institution is concerned, we have advanced from the planning to the implementation stage. Our major objective is to project the image of a competitive investment bank offering legal, financial,

and institutional consultancy services, also for the private small industry enterprises that have emerged. Also, we offer consultant services to foreign firms which want to invest in Romania. New departments have been organized to handle relations with small businesses, the administration of the accounts of the enterprises opened on the basis of Decree No. 54/1990, the administration and negotiation of stock, and debt management.

We have also ensured a new perception and a new dynamism in banking activities by appointing young people in decisionmaking functions at the BRCE; we have three vice presidents under 40 years old, 10 directors around the age of 40, new directors at joint banks abroad (for example, a young expert under the age of 38 was appointed vice president and director general at the French-Romanian Bank in Paris).

Simultaneously, we are intensively retraining personnel in keeping with the requirements of a market economy and working to change their mentality so as to be able to operate according to customers and to the risk and profit involved, that being a must for the viability of the bank. We plan to send people abroad to specialize at foreign banks and financial institutions. In the first five months of this year we already managed to send 25 of our employees with average and higher education to training, and the main criteria used was individual performance.

* Violence of Miners in Bucharest Examined

90BA0215A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 29 Jun 90 pp 1, 4

[Gheorghe Grigurgu article]

[Text] After an incredibly short pause, violence has once again descended upon Romania's capital. It was a blind violence escaped from the deepest recesses of history and of the earth. The former were activated by the communist and fascist totalitarianisms—so closely related between themselves—while the latter were activated by the people that bring forth the riches of the deep, the miners. We were not surprised by the relapse of communist savagery that enslaved us until so recently and that is not so easy for us to shed. But we were surprised by the totalitarian attitude of the miners. There is no doubt that the men of the depths are not fascists, nor are we convinced that they describe themselves as communists. But they are behaving just like the fascists and communists. They hit and torture, ransack, and destroy, and they desecrate human beings and what they have created out of a savage instinct that has nothing to do with faith, the law, or human kindness. They are behaving worse than cavemen, who saved their aggressiveness for the purpose of obtaining what they needed to live and for self-defense. Armed with prehistoric weapons, they attack peaceful people, including old people, women, and children, break into homes, schools, newspaper offices, and the offices of legal parties in order to destroy them. What has happened? Who has warped their minds to such a painful extent? How did the workers' ethics fall so low and what caused the disappearance of the common decency of people whom we would respect for their hard work if they respected others? Are these the miners who challenged Ceausescu in 1977? Or a mixed bunch resulting from the purge of rebels and the infiltration of government agents among the others? Sociologists and historians will undoubtedly endeavor to shed light on it. What is certain is that the present "miners" are reacting to mysterious orders; they come and go at precise signals and in a totalitarian discipline just like the bolsheviks and the detachments of the Chinese cultural revolution, as well as the Italian black shirts, and the Nazis on the criminal Crystal Night. Their reflexes, mentality, and behavior are undeniably an extension of the reflexes, mentality, and behavior of the two major totalitarian systems that crippled our century. It is clear that if the country's freshly elected president decided to revive attitudes practiced by the Iron Guard and the fascists, neither can the miners he protects escape his sentence. On the contrary, they are likely to be the first target. And another thing that confuses and shames us: the difference between the Romanian miners, who discharged their energetic irrationality and triumphant thirst for destruction in the streets of Bucharest, and their comrades in the Soviet Union, who rose against the policies of the communist party, or their colleagues in East and West Germany and Poland, who are protesting against the repression in Romania. There are consciences and consciences...

The question is: who is manipulating our "miners?" Even if no one is assuming the command function and even if their organizational structure remains in the shade, they are incontestably at the beck and call of those they serve, namely of Romania's current rulers. They are the latter's armed, illegal, and frightening arm. They are the means by which the ruling team can crush the opposition (so inconvenient after the elections, because of the annoying truths it is voicing!) efficiently and apparently with a minimum of responsibility. On this point, however, they are bitterly mistaken. Just because they don't have to give an account now or at any precise time in the near future, that does not mean that there is no responsibility. In reality, the responsibility is all the greater since we are now dealing not with a provisional leadership, but with a power that installed itself through a protocolary bow to legality. Let us see a few of the charges that may be levelled at people that teleguide terrorism at the level of a national drama:

- a) Killings and wounds and enormous material and emotional damages. Why should the so-called terrorists of December 1989 be less pardonable for destroying the University Library and the National Art Museum, than their imitators who ransacked the University, the Institute of Architecture, and various newspaper offices?/
- b) Replacing the legal defenders of the law by citizens not empowered to do that and a priori inclined to crimes and brutality. This is a horrible caricature of

justice and a cruel parody of carrying out its sanctions. A hysteria of arbitrariness and of all kinds of excesses, and of violation of the written and unwritten laws of everyday life. On the other hand, it set a precedent for other abuses./

- c) The extremely dangerous division of the Romanian society, the effect of which was to incite against certain (professional, ethnic, age, etc.) groups, which is nothing but war among brothers. I don't think it is too much to view this is an agonic manifestation of the fatal concept of class struggle brought down to the most desperate, lowest, trivial, and bloody level. A confusion of the above-mentioned struggle, which claimed a certain ideological level, with troglodyte attitudes./
- d) The suspension of the democratic process in our country. In other words, the alienation of the loftiest goal of the anticommunist Revolution and a relapse into the dictatorial stage—so far under (clumsily) disguised forms, but with an implacable program of progressive assertion. Actually, the wave of slander that washed over the protesting youth, who bore the brunt of the revolutionary struggle and suffered the heaviest losses, is symptomatic.
- e) Fostering hatred of intellectuals. At our time, a time of extraordinary progress due to the human mind, when a noocracy appears as the only reasonable system of the future once the false ideologies have collapsed, an anti-intellectual attitude is a reactionary and irresponsible position. Shouting "Death to the intellectuals" or flirting with the users of this slogan is tantamount to putting oneself outside the realm of civilization.
- f) Romania's severe isolation in the world. The first signs of this deadly phenomenon are already appearing. Thus, the policy of the former dictator is being continued almost systematically. We know very well what this means: not only cultural stagnation, not only being treated as an inferior nation unworthy of either trust or attention, but also curtailing the chances of economic recovery. Squalor, blessed squalor perpetuated ad infinitum.

Who can plausibly condemn the violence perpetrated by anarchic groups (something that is in fact very suspect if we think of how the Reichstag was set on fire) as long as it is protected by an organized violence of undisputably greater scope and significance? Who is gaining from the "miners'" intervention to satisfy their obviously incurable totalitarian vice? Who is interested in turning Romania into another Iran or Lebanon, so that some day we may regret not being Albania?

* Details on Banning of Newspaper Provided

90BA0215B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 24 Jun 90 pp 1, 2

[Anton Uncu article: "Who Is Banning ROMANIA LIBERA"]

[Text] During these nightmarish days we have seen fanatics encouraging miners to beat and manhandle innocent people.... We were wounded to the quick by so much hatred and madness. But there was also something else, something terrible, more terrible than the violence that descended on our capital city: there were those smiling happy people gathered at the windows of the central wing of the "Free Press" building (no, I cannot believe that any of our colleagues were among them), those people, yes, humans, who applauded when the loudspeakers announced the closing down of the newspaper, that is to say, at the time when we just stopped existing.

Throughout the existence of this newspaper, which from the very beginning bore the markings of a sacred ideal for every Romanian, no one ever dared or succeeded in stopping its breath for even one day. But the one who dared and managed was Nicolae Camarasescu.

Look at him! Nicolae Camarasescu, former first lieutenant of the securitate until 22 December 1989, arrested on 26 December together with others on suspicion of shooting at people (left in the photograph), released on 27 December for lack of evidence or who knows for what other reasons, and returned to the Jiu Valley which he had left at some point, and now back in Bucharest as one of the leaders of the miners. On 14 June 1990 he came to our newspaper offices to ban its publication under the threat of the iron bars and axes wielded by the miners who were accompanying him. He defied the law and the authority of the government, stating that whatever the government's decision may be, ROMANIA LIBERA was not to appear anymore, otherwise the offices and the printing shop were going to be destroyed.

I don't know who put a bullet through the head of the young man in front of the Interior Ministry on 13 June and I don't know what crime that young man had committed that he had to pay for with his life. But I am convinced that the one who fired the shot was not a miner. I don't know the man who split open with one blow of the axe the head of the young doorman (18) of the National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party [NPP] on 14 June. But I do know that the killer was dressed as a miner. And we will probably never know the ones responsible for the six murders committed between 13-15 June 1990. Just as we will never know the terrorists who paved the streets of Timisoara, Bucharest, Sibiu, and other cities with dead bodies last December. But we do know Nicolae Camarasescu, and we are not the only ones who know him. Few are the employees of the Central for Salts and Non-Metal Materials who don't know the name, face, and nefarious role he played as a securitate officer at the Central. Several recognized him dressed as a miner and carrying a loudspeaker, others recognized him in the picture we published from an album with shots of the Revolution, and yet others recognized him from the "friendly" discussion at our office.

I hope that we have given the police sufficient evidence to recognize, find, and hold Nicolae Camarasescu, who is a dangerous man, and to investigate him not only for the incident at our office, but especially for his contribution to the vandalism committed by the miners in Bucharest.

We, at least, would view this as a proof of the fact that the police is not busy arresting and questioning only the accused of 13 June, but also those of 14 and 15 June. Otherwise it may be believed that the latter had the protection and endorsement of the government.

There are still several questions and unclear matters regarding this painful incident. First of all, concerning the role and mission of National Defense Ministry Colonel N. Maricas, who escorted the column of miners to ROMANIA LIBERA. His presence there, as a high ranking officer, can certainly not have been at his own initiative. Should we continue to assume that he was there to put the official seal on the miners' action? Should we understand that the Defense Ministry empowered him to do that? Without informing the prime minister? Because, if what Prime Minister Petre Roman said in his interview for French television channel Antenne 2 was true, namely that most of the miners had been under control (whose control?) and that the blamable acts for which the government expressed its regret, occurred only in the cases in which the miners went out of control, then the presence of the high-ranking army officer during the miners' actions at ROMANIA LIBERA contradicts this version. Or does the government intend to explicitely distance itself from what the miners did, with the assistance of Col. Maricas, at our offices? And even if that were the case, how can we then explain the fact that, although we filed an official request (issued on ROMPRES) for protection for our offices, the miilitary guard dispatched is protecting the building and the offices in it except for those of ADEVARUL? This measure seems to me bizarre, to say the least. Is anyone trying to suggest that offices under army protection are in danger, but ROMANIA LIBERA is not? What are those dangers and where do they come from? Or that only state institutions (which ROMANIA LIBERA is not) are entitled to protection in such extreme cases? So, if a Romanian citizen, not to mention a newspaper, requests help after being clearly and provably threatened that his home will be destroyed and he will be killed, the state is in no way obligated to protect him?... And if all these assumptions are false or based on false premises, then why are we being refused protection?

What could the miners, controlled or otherwise, have against the offices of the independent and party newspapers, the buildings of various parties and their leaders, the students, and the intellectuals? What was at the origin of this wave of incomprehensible and unbridled hatred and violence? How did we come to this situation? Why are we now discovering hostility and hatred for each other, after that superb and heroical solidarity against the dictatorship? Why have there once again been dead bodies in the streets of Bucharest?

I can still hear, like a punishment, the teary voice of a professor crying for his rock collection, a lifetime of thoughts and work lost in a matter of a few days. And I cannot put any faith in promises of democracy as long as one's collection of thoughts and words can be destroyed or banned, and as long as one is not entitled to think differently from the majority.

Lord! It is the same sentence of the majority for as long as the borderline between guilty and nonguilty is established according to criteria other than justice and law, as long as our cities are "pacified" with clubs, and as long as hatred bans freedom in Romania.

* National Peasant Party on Government Program

90BA0214A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 5 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

["Text" of an NPP [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] statement: "The NPP View of the Government's 'Declaration-Program'"]

[Text] Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen Deputies,

We followed with interest the prime minister's statement, which represented the new government's working program for the coming two years.

By and large we believe that this statement conveyed the government's clear pledge to embark upon the democratization of the country and to return to a market economy after close to half a century of bankrupt communist experimentation.

The statement abounded in generalities and theoretical considerations, but was poor in program measures on how these intentions will actually be implemented.

We were surprised to find missing from the prime minister's expose several issues with major implications for reestablishing Romanian democracy on new bases.

It is incomprehensible that, only a few days since the serious events of 13-15 June, the government did not shed light on the causes and elements involved in that drama and on the emotional and material damages suffered by cultural institutions such as the University, architecture, television, the offices of several newspapers, and the headquarters of various state institutions and political parties.

Ambivalent and contradictory positions, and grave accusations issued in various versions that were neither proven nor retracted are undermining the reestablishment of relations of detente with other institutions and political parties, and at the same time are damaging the country's credibility in the world.

It is true that the statement noted that currently the international climate is not in our favor, but it omitted to show the reasons for that. Let us not forget that after the December revolution, our country was washed over by a huge wave of sympathy from the entire free world.

However, in less than six months all this moral and political capital won in blood managed to be wasted, something that took an extraordinary performance.

Something else that greatly contributed to that was the fact that the opposition parties were brutally and systematically prevented from carrying out their electoral campaign, so that the results of the elections were seriously distorted from the very start. And whatever was still left of that capital of sympathy and trust was completely destroyed in the wake of the 13-15 June events, especially because of the participation of the miners in those events.

The international public opinion perceived it as a grievous political mistake in flagrant contradiction with the elementary norms of democracy.

Similarly, one of the major problems that preoccupy the Romanian public and that was not even mentioned in the declaration-program is the problem of the minorities. Both the majority of the population and the ethnic minorities were with legitimate interest expecting the government to take a position on this delicate issue. We want to recall that in the matter of minorities problems and human rights in general, the National—Christian and Democratic—Peasant Party [NPP] unreservedly subscribes to all the regulations in effect featured in the UN Charter, the Helsinki agreements, and the practices of progressive democratic countries.

Neither did the prime minister's speech deal in any detail with the repeated public requests that the state television become an independent and objective institution, something that is still not the case. It also omitted to refer to several proposals to approve the establishment of private, independent television stations that can serve as an incentive for better and more objective political, social, and cultural reporting.

We cannot ignore the fact that the statement made very few references to agriculture, something that we fail to understand. We have to ask ourselves whether the government thinks that in the agricultural sector the process of returning to a free economy has already ended?

This question is all the more legitimate since the statement did mention that economic recovery is expected to begin in the agricultural sector. However, as far as we know, the situation in agriculture is far from normal. To date the process of privatization has only been outlined, and the measures that have been taken so far have been ambivalent and have contributed to creating confusion in the countryside.

It has not been made clear whether the government intends to generalize individual peasant ownership or to maintain collective ownership. If the option is to return to individual ownership, it has not been stated how this objective will be attained and what will be the future role of the current technical cadres; also, nothing was said about the much discussed problem of the pensions of the former collective members.

In this connection we want to point out that already in March the NPP proposed a comprehensive draft bill to deal with the problem of peasants' pensions.

At the same time, we want to call attention to the fact that in the absence of practical programs to specifically resolve the various economic problems linked to the return to a market economy and privatization, there is always a danger that inappropriate measures will compromise the very idea of a market economy based on private ownership.

We also think that the declaration should have made some reference to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the signing of that document, which had such disastrous effects on the Romanian people. These are the NPP's main reservations concerning the government's declaration-program, although not the only ones.

We realize that in the coming two years the government will be confronted with serious problems stemming from the difficult process of transition from a totalitarian society and a hypercentralized economy to a free society based on a market economy, and that overcoming these difficulties requires the participation of all the domestic forces and substantial aid from the international community. But these can be secured only through a wise policy that will prove the credibility of the process of democratization of the Romanian society.

After the latest elections, which we contested, the government secured a broad parliamentary majority which can permit it to rule and legislate without having to take into account the views of the opposition factions. Still, we hope that it will not succumb to the temptation to do so and will be receptive to all the just demands of all the social categories.

As far as we are concerned, we want to once again state that the NPP will make a full and constructive contribution to reengaging the country on its natural path, by supporting both in parliament and in any other circumstances the invitiatives aimed at defending our national interests, social progress, and progress along the road of real democratization of the country.

We expect an equally constructive attitude from the government and implicitely from the parliamentary majority of this House, in the sense of allowing the opposition full freedom of manifestation, in view of the fact that there can be no real democracy without a strong opposition able to freely exercise its role as a comptroller of government activities.

* National Peasant Party Differs With NSF

90BA0213B Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 10 Jul 90 p 1

[George Prut article: "Why the NPP?"]

[Text] The particularly serious situation in which our country finds itself—the rapid disappearance of the values of democracy, galloping economic disintegration, and extreme isolation in foreign matters—imparts a profound patriotic significance to the support of each

one of us for the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [NPP] and for its principles, ideology, and political activities. Today being on the side of the NPP means having faith in the values of democracy, which in the current conditions is the same as being in the forefront of the political opposition. Since January, since the first undemocratic actions of the NSF [National Salvation Front] Party, the NPP has been taking resolute and well argumented positions, thus demonstrating its democratic avocation and its dedication to a new and free development for the Romanian people. The NPP's opposition was always constructive and ideologically sound, while refusing to accept any compromise with the authorities that have inherited all the bad traits of totalitarianism. This opposition and struggle have been taking place in difficult conditions accompanied by violence and slander reminiscent of the "recipe" used in 1946-47 when the communist party, supportd by the Soviet occupation, seized power completely. Nevertheless, the NPP continued to uphold its theoretical and practical positions. Evidently, the losses it suffered in this unequal struggle riddled with dishonest methods and attacks, are considerable. Even its organizations were seriously damaged in more than a few places. These things, however, have not affected the corpus of principles of the party and its programs. The NPP's socioeconomic principles and programs are even more interesting now, when the programs of the government party, the NSF, as well as of the other parties, are revealing themselves as mere exercises in rhetorics, far removed from the Romanian social, political, and economic realities and from the needs and urgent priorities of the Romanian nation.

This public reevaluation of the NPP programs and principles is a natural phenomenon that will deepen in the immediate future as the NSF essentially... neoliberal government program becomes even more clearly deadlocked [as published]. How can a neoliberal socioeconomic program be implemented when those expected to do it are no more and no less than fascists? The ideological disparity is enormous, and the NSF government program sounds good only as an element of technocratic doctrine.

It is within this context that the NPP presents and updates its political and economic programs formulated already during the electoral campaign for each socioeconomic area after lengthy debates with the party's study groups and circles of specialists. It is very important to note that, in keeping with its best traditions, the NPP's ideological principles are a political expression of the Romanian spirit, for which democratic political action is an inherent condition of the Romanian people's life. Based on the Romanian political philosophy and on the political and behavioral traditions of the Romanian people, the NPP ideology is integrated within our national spirit. This is precisely the source of its efficiency if it came to power. The same desire to make political capital from the Romanian spirit is at the basis of the NPP's programs calling for a dialogue with the world and for democracy as a generally human phenomenon. The NPP does not suggest autarky or stagnation, but modernity side by side with specific traits and traditions, and universality side by side with national identity and personality. The NPP programs are characterized by clarity, focus on what is essential, pragmatism, alternatives, and flexibility, and the solutions it proposes are simple and quick. We must here note that the national-peasant doctrine is perhaps the most interesting and most significant Romanian contribution to international political theory and practice. The difficult, often impossible conditions in which the NPP was forced to carry out its electoral campaign were responsible for how little familiar the electorate is with these programs. We are convinced that the voters would have easily recognized their own ideas and views in them and would have understood that the NPP does not struggle against any person or groups of persons, but against both right- and left-wing totalitarian ideologies which are equally harmful to human freedom, democracy, and social welfare.

Many people have probably wondered why the NSF attacked the NPP so vehemently and by every possible means. The explanations are easy: the NPP is a traditional democratic party in our country that belongs to the political heritage of the Romanian people; its programs are clear, feasible, and interesting to the broadest social categories; the NPP promotes the Christian-democratic values for which three fourths of the European electorate vote and is thus, from this viewpoint, too, a threat to the atheistically inspired power of the NSF; there is no circumstance in which the NPP is willing to compromise with the ruling NSF in exchange for political privileges; the party's political efforts are powered by the values of democracy and freedom for each individual in society; the NPP may be the only party capable of steadily eliminating the nocive structures of totalitarianism thanks to its ideology and programs, and its political experience; the NPP's opposition is practically the only unequivocal opposition in the parliament and is motivated by the belief that the social, political, and economic alternative that the NPP offers the Romanian people is the most favorable for our free and democratic development and the most apt to facilitate our joining with Europe and our recognition as Europeans worthy of living at the same level as the other Europeans.

* Efforts To Defend 'Image' Abroad Derided

90P20072A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Augustin Muraru article: "The Country's Image"]

[Text] The country has an image which, in different ways, is projected abroad. The foreign image of the country is undergoing constant metamorphosis. The modification of this image in the eyes of foreigners takes place as a result of events occurring in the country.

Foreigners are interested in what the Romanian state is doing, what the public authorities are doing and the way in which they observe the rules of a democratic society.

Therefore, the image of the country abroad is the image of the regime and of the public authorities.

After the events of 13-15 June, the image abroad of the regime in Bucharest suffered greatly. Prime Minister Petre Roman recognizes this fact. He had to go to Crans Montana in Switzerland, to try to present to foreigners an image which he thought was true. Why isn't the real image of the state government accepted abroad? The regime complains that this image has been distorted by some of the media, both domestic and foreign.

According to this logic, what counts is not reality but photographs which have not been able to or have not wanted to emphasize the pleasant, advantageous features of the subject photographed. The prime minister hopes that his presence in Crans Montana and, especially, his dexterity in handling words, in the language of his audience, will contribute to the creation of another image in the minds of foreign viewers and listeners. Obviously an image which is more beautiful than the photographs of state institutions set on fire, people killed in the streets, people beaten, with swollen and bloodied faces, cultural institutions sacked, vandalized, etc.

But why does the prime minister have to go so far to defend the image of the government because of what happened on 13-15 June in Bucharest? Why are the ministers of foreign affairs and justice going to Innsbruck to justify what the minister of the interior, the minister of defense, the president of the country and the miners did or what they did not do?

Petre Roman did not call the miners to Bucharest! Neither did the minister of foreign affairs or the minister of justice!

We believe that, in the future, the responsibility of the people and of the public institutions should be an individual responsibility. If a person is involved in a crime, he is the one who gives explanations, who exonerates himself and who is responsible for what he has done. Also, if a state institution undertakes an action which has poor results, then this institution and the head of this institution must give explanations and take responsibility for what was done. On 13 May, the former minister of the interior, at the request of the public prosecutor of Romania, launched an action to restore peace and order to University Square. The action had unexpected consequences, resulting in the burning of some state and cultural institutions and some deaths. Why are the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs defending General Chitac now and justifying his actions? Why don't they repudiate his errors in calculating? It would be easier and simpler.

The miners came to Bucharest and did what they did. They were officially thanked for what they did and they left. Photos of places in Bucharest "visited by the miners" were transmitted throughout the world and were received accordingly. It is a hideous blemish on the face of the persons responsible. Why do the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs feel that they are obliged now to give explanations for what other institutions and their heads did?

Would it not have been more normal for the press office of the president of the country (if there is one) to give a report and to explain what the president-elect did or did not do on 13-15 June to defend law and order? (In connection with this, how long has the president of the country been concerned with defending law and order? On the basis of which provision of the law? Why do we have a minister of the interior, a minister of defense, and a police commissioner for the capital if the president of the country is the one who is concerned with such problems?)

If the prime minister and his government are responsible only to the Parliament which elected them, if the president of the country is responsible to the same Parliament, if the minister of the interior is responsible to the prime minister and to Parliament, then why do the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs feel responsibility for what other institutions of the Romanian state have done (or have done in error)? Once again, we are faced with a situation like the time of the "hated dictatorship" when the minister of foreign affairs never ends his desperate attempts to beautify the "image of Romania" abroad, a horrible, but real, image, which the actions of other ministers and the actions of the Romanian head of state created. Has not the time come for each one to be responsible for what he does and to suffer the consequences?

Jovic Discusses Nation's Future, Sees 'Solution'

LD2307222990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1926 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—I firmly believe that the Yugoslav people do not have a better solution than Yugoslavia. They can reshape it in the way it suits them; all alternatives are available, and each one must be given a chance to manifest itself. I personally think that Yugoslavia has a future and that we will find a solution. This was stated tonight by Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, during his interview with Slovene Television after the talks that the SFRY Presidency members had with the Slovene leadership today.

Jovic stressed that the present round of talks between the collective head of state and the leaderships of the federal units is coming to an end and that he was convinced that a path had been opened for a constructive dialogue, because all the republics had accepted this road and had defined their stands. The second round of dialogue is imminent, and then the SFRY Presidency will appear before the Yugoslav Assembly with concrete proposals.

I hope that during autumn we will have versions that the people will decide on by means of a referendum, and that after that we will truly have a Yugoslavia with which we will all agree, or something else, said Jovic. I hope, stressed the president of the SFRY Presidency, that we will have a Yugoslavia with which we will all agree.

I do not feel I am the head of a state that is disintegrating. Yugoslavia does exist, despite all the problems, stressed Jovic. The fact that we are discussing them in a democratic manner, without concealment, does not mean that they are unsolvable. Jovic also expressed his satisfaction with the talks held with the Slovene Presidency.

Answering a question about the Slovene Assembly declaration on Slovene sovereignty and the letter he sent to Milan Kucan, Jovic said that the SFRY Presidency had publicly expressed its view on the declaration, and said that the letter did not refer to it. The letter had been sent in connection with plans to implement the declaration, which was bound up with the adoption of specific bills [zakonski projekti] which could have made Slovenia clash directly with federal laws. That, in turn, would have caused serious difficulties, because we would have had to ensure the implementation of federal laws, said Jovic.

Jovic did not agree that the SFRY Presidency applied different criteria when reacting to events in individual republics, stressing that it is consistent in its attitude toward all actions that are out of step with the Constitution and federal laws. At the same time, he expressed surprise that at the end of the 20th century laws and measures are being adopted that are in conflict with the laws of the country in which one lives.

Answering a question on the future constitutional system of the country, the president of the SFRY Presidency said that talks were now being held about a confederal Yugoslavia, or about Slovenia's confederal status in it. During the dialogue with the republican leaderships, their proposals about the future constitutional system in the country were formulated. One of the possible forms is a confederation, advocated by Slovenia and Croatia, while the other four republics are in favor of a federation. He added that all alternatives are being circulated, which means that in the final analysis there is the possibility of secession for those who cannot find a solution for themselves.

Secession is not an idea put forward by the SFRY Presidency. It was born in the republics which have alternative proposals, but for secession we must have a legal solution. Politically, every nation has a right to a self-determination that cannot be restricted in any way, and the right to secession is implicit in it. What we are talking about is self-determination to live in a community with Yugoslav peoples, or to separate from them.

This law is simple, Jovic went on to say. Every republic can ask for secession on the basis of the vote of its citizens. Then the issue is put before the SFRY Assembly, and the views and agreement of all the republics and provinces is sought, and all controversial issues of reciprocal relations—which also implies commitments with regard to foreign countries—are regulated by legislation which is approved jointly.

No one can deny the people's sovereignty, and their right to live independently in either a federal or confederal state, as this is their fully autonomous and comprehensive right. However, one cannot ignore the present situation, in which the Yugoslav people—including the Slovenes—have transferred a share of their sovereignty to federal Yugoslavia, which has its own Constitution and laws which must be applied until that sovereignty is retrieved.

The Slovene leadership, or the Slovene people, have never proclaimed that they will use force to retrieve that sovereignty. Any attempt to resolve the situation in this way would be met with serious difficulties and obstacles, Jovic stressed. In the course of talks on the future system in Yugoslavia, Slovenia can fully retrieve its sovereignty: It can secede, it can demand confederal status within Yugoslavia if it is accepted, or it can fight for a confederal Yugoslavia or accept a federal system. In other words, all these forms are possible, but what is not possible is for Slovenia to proceed to utilize its sovereignty as if Yugoslavia did not exist. If this situation is ignored there could be a conflict.

Having stressed that at the present juncture there are, objectively speaking, two proposals—for a federal and for a confederal Yugoslavia—Jovic said that under a plan by the SFRY Presidency a report would be submitted on this to the Yugoslav Assembly which would then proceed to set up groups with the task of finding common language. Prospects for this are very slim.

Most probably this issue will have to be decided upon through a referendum where the Yugoslav Assembly would recommend that all republics and provinces call.

This means that the federal units would have their people's views as a basis for future work. No one will or can counter Slovenia's interests, providing they are fulfilled in a constitutional manner, for which opportunities do exist.

As far as the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] is concerned, Jovic recalled that the SFRY Presidency was the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, and that any decision by the collective head of state was an order for the Army. There is no question of there being a conflict between the supreme commander and the JNA, he stressed.

Answering a question about the Presidency's stance on the Slovene Assembly's demand that the recruits from this republic do their military service on its territory, Jovic said that the Presidency will discuss this issue at one of its next sessions. In his view this issue can be resolved in accordance with the wishes and the interests of the Slovene people, after new relations have been established in the country—after Slovenia has established its confederal status, or has possibly left it. However, in the present situation such a solution would lead to the establishment of republican armies, which at the moment is outside the JNA concept.

Jovic expressed the hope that talks will soon be held with the Kosovo Presidency as well. This has not been done yet because the provincial Presidency has not been in a position to organize them. Regarding a dialogue with the Kosovo "alternative," he stressed: "We would be willing if the Kosovo Alternative issued a statement acknowledging the integrity of the SFRY and of the Soviet Republic of Serbia, and seeking all solutions within this framework."

In conclusion, the president of the SFRY Presidency spoke of progress on the work on preparing the new Yugoslav Constitution. He said that during talks with the republican and provincial leaderships, reference was made to the technology of drafting the new Constitution—the method of work, a definition of differences, and the quest for solutions in a way out of the constitutional crisis.

The second part of the talks with the Slovene leadership was devoted to the method of avoiding reciprocal conflicts: That is, conflicts in the decisions that may be adopted in Slovenia along the line of establishing the confederal status of this republic in Yugoslavia, which could be in conflict with federal laws.

Our stance and proposal is that Slovenia should refrain from that. If it does not—said Dr. Borislav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in concluding his interview with Slovene Television—the main issues will be put aside, and Slovenia will not be able to attain the objectives it has set for itself. Instead it can help resolve the Yugoslav crisis in the only way possible, which we can do in a relatively short period of time—by the end of the year at the latest.

Jovic Meets With Slovenia's Kucan in Ljubljana

'Crisis Will Be Resolved'

LD2307161690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr. Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in Ljubljana today described his talks with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the republic of Slovenia, as "very detailed and open." In a reference to the various concepts—federal, confederal, and a combination of the two—of organizing Yugoslavia, Jovic said in a public statement that "these options must be discussed thoroughly and in specific terms." Jovic also announced that by the end of the year at the latest "Yugoslavia's political crisis will be resolved."

Dr. Jovic is today visiting Slovenia with other members of the collective Presidency. After the talks with Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, the members of the Presidency, and other top officials, Dr. Borisav Jovic and Milan Kucan made the following statement.

"We have conducted very detailed and open talks about the future of Yugoslavia, about its future constitutional order, and about the search for ways to overcome Yugoslavia's crisis, which has assumed such proportions that it cannot be overcome solely by rectifying the existing constitution," Dr. Jovic stressed.

"We agreed to complete the path which we had taken toward enabling all the republics to express their views about Yugoslavia's future. We noted that four of the Yugoslav republics are of the view that Yugoslavia should be organized as a federal state, while two of the republics, including Slovenia, see it as confederation with an additional version under which a republic will be given confederal status within federal Yugoslavia if it does not suit others to be parts of a confederation. All these options must be considered thoroughly and in specific terms to see where the differences arise and how to find solutions for our future coexistence. Our overall concept also includes that last option: secession from Yugoslavia by those who find neither of the above solutions acceptable."

Dr. Borisav Jovic cited as the key issue the need to outline precise procedures and programs for arriving at clear definitions of all the options and some sub-variants, at clear programs for talks between the republics and among all of us together in order to present the Assembly and the people of Yugoslavia as soon as possible with proposals for appropriate political decisions.

One of the important issues referred to the way to overcome problems arising in the meantime. We all agreed, Jovic said, that if we continue to work in this way, we shall relatively quickly, by the autumn or by the end of the year at the latest, find the solution to Yugoslavia's political crisis. By then we shall have visualized

our future in precise terms and formulated the status of all the republics and people within Yugoslavia.

"We easily arrived at a common stand," Jovic continued, "that in the meantime the republics should refrain from decisions which may affect the issues which we today agreed on, and from unilaterally changing their positions, particularly those which are in the interests of all and which are regulated by federal laws. This is one of the crucial prerequisites if we are to avoid causing disquiet and polemics about it and any possible conflicts which are not absolutely necessary. The way we defined today can lead to the fulfillment of the desires and interests of all Yugoslav people," Jovic said in his statement.

Slovenia Still Favors Confederation

AU2307150690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Statement by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, on talks held with Slovene officials in Ljubljana on 23 July—recorded]

[Text] We held very detailed and very open [otvoren] talks on the future of Yugoslavia, its future constitutional organization, and on finding ways to overcome the Yugoslav crisis which has acquired such dimensions that it cannot be overcome by just (?amending) the existing Constitution.

We have come to the conclusion that four Yugoslav republics hold the view that the Yugoslav federation, the SFRY, should be organized as a federal state, while two republics, including Slovenia, think that it should be organized as a confederation, (?something that may not suit the others), with the (?option) that a republic can be given a confederal status within a federal Yugoslavia, and that all these options must be further discussed while detailing where these differences lie and in which way a solution could be found for the future and joint life.

This global procedure also includes the last option of secession from Yugoslavia for those who cannot find an acceptable solution among any of these variants. A major issue for us today was to jointly assess that we will relatively quickly and in a relatively short period of time for this kind of job—which means this fall or at the end of the year at the latest—(?resolve) the Yugoslav political crisis through this kind of work and exactly perceive our future and establish the position of all republics and peoples of this Yugoslavia.

Since we have jointly assessed that this is possible, we have easily arrived at the joint conclusion, at least in my view, that we should meanwhile (?refrain) from adopting decisions in any republic on changing those issues which have today been jointly agreed upon at the Yugoslav level, and on unilaterally changing these issues, especially under the circumstances when they are in the interest of everyone and when they are regulated by federal laws.

Kucan: 'Differences Remain'

LD2307181690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The talks with Dr. Borisav Jovic in Ljubljana today have confirmed that there is no other solution to the Yugoslav crisis except patient and well-argued dialogue based on mutual trust. This was stressed by Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Slovene Republic, in his public statement after the talks which Dr. Borisav Jovic and several SFRY Presidency members had with the president of the Slovene republic presidency, its members, and the republican leadership.

Kucan expressed regret that these talks had not taken place earlier or, rather, that there had been no political dialogue in Yugoslavia for two years. As a positive shift, he mentioned the fact that the political, ideological, theoretical, or other barriers no longer existed as they had last year, when the addenda to the Slovene Constitution was passed threatening the existence of Yugoslavia in a way which is common knowledge. I am thinking of the expression "emergency situation" [vanredno stanje] used then, Kucan said.

There is general recognition of the fact that an effort must be made to ensure that the Yugoslav community is built on foundations different from the present ones, stressed Kucan.

He described the existing constitutional system, that is, the assumptions upon which it is based, as the key reason for the current crisis. "This cannot be rectified only through formal changes to the existing Constitution. Every republic must redefine its interest in what should be the form and content of our future life together."

"We have reasserted Slovenia's interest in the strengthening of its sovereign status, that is its political, economic, and cultural sovereignty, which makes possible the establishment of a confederal situation in Yugoslavia—of course on the assumption that such a confederal situation is attainable and that other republics will be interested in it as well, regardless of what reciprocal position they will remain in."

We believe that this stance is a democratic one because it does not set out to impose our situation on anyone, stressed Kucan. In light of this, the Slovene Assembly recently adopted the decision to set in motion the procedure for adoption of a republican constitution, which will be the constitution of a sovereign state and not of a federal unit.

Of course, specific elements—and this is our agreement with Croatia—of the future confederal status of the republics in the future Yugoslav community will have to be prepared, added Kucan, after mentioning that the discussion was already held on a specific level and not only in principle. This future situation must be arrived at as soon as possible, but in the meantime one has to continue on.

However, there are differences in this respect, said Kucan. What happens is that the current constitutional system brings pressure to bear on life in some specific points and this leads to conflicts.

The talks have demonstrated, said Kucan in conclusion, that unfortunately specific differences remain in our views and in the solutions which will ensue, especially in the area of our relations with the Yugoslav People's Army and Territorial Defense. However, both sides were of the view that these problems too, given good will and intensification of talks, can be resolved.

Serbian Assembly Protests to European Parliament

LD2307170890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—After three hours of work, at separate sessions of the Assembly Chambers, which were interrupted several times by breaks, the Serbian Assembly approved the final text of a letter of protest to the European Parliament. The letter expresses "the bitterness of Serbia over the resolution on Kosovo, which this parliament adopted on 5 July."

The afternoon's work of the Chambers resumed with a debate about the conclusions of the Serbian Executive Council in connection with the latest Federal Executive Council package of measures. The republican government's economic reform proposals will also be considered.

'First' Romanian Serb Resettles in Kosovo

LD2407045690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0131 GMT 24 Jul 90

[Text] Kosovo Polje, 24 Jul (TANJUG)—Borisav Soljnosen, 33, a mechanical engineering grduate of Timisoara, is the first Serb from Romania to settle in Kosovo, the restless Yugoslav province with a predominantly ethnic Albanian population.

Soljnosen, who arrived here last week, has found work in the local agri-industrial combine. He is temporarily living in the house of Bogdan Kecman, president of the association for the return of Serbs to Kosovo and member of the main committee of the newly founded Socialist (former Communist) Party of Serbia.

Soljnosen told TANJUG that he would soon be joined by his sister Jovanka, a professor of Serbian, who is currently in the Adriatic resort Dubrovnik attending a Slavic seminar.

"I expect my entire family - my wife, two children, father and mother, to leave Romania in a few months and join me here," Soljnosen said.

Some months ago, the Serbian government launched a program for settling at least 100,000 Serbs in Kosovo, the province from which ethnic Albanian separatists forced at least 200,000 Serbs to flee in the past [word indistinct] years.

The realization of the government program is not proceeding very well because Serbs from the richer and more peaceful parts of Serbia are not too interested in settling in the economically undeveloped and politically unstable Kosovo.

The arrival in Yugoslavia of Serbs from Romania is, however, a new and quite unexpected phenomenon. As officially estimated, there are about 50,000 Serbs in Romania. During the Communist dictatorship, they had been denied any national or ethnic rights in that country.

"After the fall of the dictatorship, much has changed. That is why I am certain my family will not be the only one to settle in Kosovo," Soljnosen told TANJUG.

Pristina Helsinki Group Protests Kosovo Situation

AU2307144290 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Jul 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "An Illegitimate Decision Violating the Present Constitution"]

[Text] In recent days, with the Serbian Assembly's unconstitutional decision to suspend the Kosovo Assembly, a further act of unprecedented and savage state violence on the part of the Serbian authorities was added to the sequence of serious violations of the human rights and freedoms of Albanians in Yugoslavia. This illegitimate decision, which seriously violates the constitutional order laid down by the present SFRY Constitution, violates in a totally brazen manner, relying solely on the "legitimacy" of force, the basic constitutional principle which proclaims "the equality of peoples and nationalities," besides a range of other constitutional principles and standards.

For the first time in the country's history, the assembly of a federal unit, i.e., that of Serbia and the Serbs as the majority population, has permitted itself, with unbridled political aggression and relying totally on the repressive apparatus of the state, the hegemonist act of suspending the assembly of another federal unit, i.e., that of Kosovo and the Albanians as its majority population.

This unconstitutional act once again demonstrates the current aim of Serbian domestic and foreign policy to treat the Albanian people in Yugoslavia as a minority and a second-class people, in spite of the democratic and civilizing trends in East Europe which favor the full emancipation of individuals and peoples, and to persist in the authoritarian and Bolshevik policies which deny the individual and collective rights of man and of peoples. This hegemonist and statist act, which the Albanian population in Kosovo perceive as forced subjugation and paramilitary occupation, also savagely violates the most recent obligations which Yugoslavia assumed no more than two weeks ago when it approved the concluding documents of the Copenhagen CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

It is more than clear that the treatment of the Albanians as a minority and not as one of the component peoples of Yugoslavia with all the rights that stem from this status was, and remains, the main cause of the flagrant violations of the Albanian human rights in Yugoslavia. For this reason, it is worth recalling once again the fact that the Albanians in Yugoslavia represent almost one half of the Albanian nation and that one half of a nation cannot ever or under any circumstances be considered a minority, still less when they have all the marks of a nation in terms of numbers and other demographic, geographic, historical, and cultural characteristics. This reality was clearly expressed in the Constitutional Declaration of the Kosovo Assembly, a plebiscitary expression of the political will of the Albanians in Kosovo for independence and equality within the Yugoslav federation, whose acceptance and adequate legal recognition by means of the appropriate constitutional and legal measures of the Yugoslav community would be a positive and decisive step toward a peaceful and democratic solution to the Kosovo crisis.

The constitutional and legal recognition of this reality would also recognize the collective rights of the Albanians, including their political will, whose denial and savage violation has given rise to mass violations of individual human rights, involving more that 70 killed and hundreds injured in one year, and such recent acts of state violence as the police seizure of the Albanian-language media, the politically motivated continued devastation of the Kosovo economy by means of administration imposed by force, the ban on protest gatherings and the prevention of the activities of the political opposition, the deportation of distinguished foreign activists in the defense of human rights and freedoms, and so forth. All these acts of violence and violations of human rights and freedoms in the last analysis boil down to ethnic domination and an annexionist and colonial policy, which may cause great damage to the common and equal life of the citizens of Kosovo. However, this policy must inevitably fail sooner or later.

The recognition of the collective rights of the Albanians on equal terms with other peoples in the Yugoslav federation would therefore substantially improve the present tragic human rights situation in Kosovo and would eliminate the main cause of this situation, which is not in the real interests of any citizen of whatever nationality in Kosovo or Yugoslavia, states the communique of the Pristina Branch of the Yugoslav Helsinki Committee, signed by its chairman, Gazmend Pula.

Ali Jakupi Elected New RILINDJA Director

AU2307150290 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 11 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Dr. Ali Jakupi Elected Director"]

[Text] At yesterday's founding meeting, the Workers Council of the RILINDJA enterprise rejected "the temporary measures for the social protection of self-managing rights and social property in the Pristina RILINDJA enterprise, taken by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia" as unacceptable, anticonstitutional, and illegal. This act of the Serbian Assembly was considered to be invalid and to impose no obligation on RILINDJA workers. The Workers Council in both its old and new composition therefore decided that this collective will continue its normal work on the basis of its own self-managing decisions, in accordance with the Law on Enterprises and the Constitutions of Kosovo and the SFRY. They refused to accept the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and its organs and of other institutions, stating that all means must be used to vigorously oppose such a step.

The meeting also approved the report of the electoral commission and formed the RILINDJA Enterprise's Workers Council, with Ramush Tahiri as president.

The Workers Council, on the regular basis of a competition among many candidates, elected as their director Dr. Ali Jakupi, hitherto deputy director of the RILINDJA Enterprise.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Readers have correctly noted that RILINDJA has now been appearing for several days without the name of its chief editor Nazmi Misini, who has been prevented from carrying out his duty since the Serbian Assembly's imposition of temporary measures on the Albanian-language media. The newspaper RILINDJA is being edited by the paper's Editorial Board headed by Xhemail Rexhepi, deputy chief editor, who has been in this post since his election in March this year following a competition and a decision of the RILINDJA Enterprise's Workers Council.

Kosovo Policemen Reportedly Form Trade Union

LD2307163190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Representatives of 1,500 [ethnic] Albanian police who handed in their weapons because of their disagreement with the suspension of the Kosovo Assembly and Executive Council today, within the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Kosovo, founded their own trade union. [passage omitted] (?At the end we report that in) the Kosovo Executive Council, the customary press conference was not held today either. There is no (?official) explanation for this. [passage omitted]

Serbian Assembly Criticizes FEC Economic Plan

LD2307172790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1404 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The July measures of the federal government cannot be accepted because they do not lead to finding a way out of the economic recession, it was concluded today at a session of all three chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. It is therefore requested of the FEC [Federal

Executive Council] that, via republican delegates in the SFRY Assembly, the FEC adopt as soon as possible a developmental plan of economic policy, because this is the only condition for the acceptance of the proposed measures as a whole. Delegates of all three chambers today also supported measures for the implementation of the economic reforms in the Republic of Serbia, which were put forward by the republican government, and which are based on the revitalization of, and the imparting of a dynamic impetus to, economic activity, along with the stimulation of the development of small and medium-sized businesses.

Serb Renaissance Movement Opens in Ljubovija

LD2007204390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 20 Jul 90

[Text] Ljubovija, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—The Serb Renaissance Movement [Pokret Srpske Obnove] was presented to over 600 citizens in Ljubovija tonight. The founding meeting of the Ljubovija Serb Renaissance Movement branch was also held.

The assembled citizens were welcomed by Mr. Nebojsa Vasic, a Ljubovija lawyer; Mr. Bogojub Pejdzic, professor and publicist from Belgrade; and Ilija Radulovic, a lawyer, who as vice presidents spoke of this party's program. They stressed that the Serb Renaissance Movement was working for the unity of the Serb people, for democracy, and for the greater prosperity of Serbia.

Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatian Leaders To Meet

LD2107121790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 21 Jul 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency president, Dr. Obrad Piljak, members of the Presidency Dr. Nikola Filipovic and Muhamed Berberovic, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly president, Zlatan Karavdic, and the Republican Executive Council president, Marko Ceranic, are meeting the Croatian leadership in Zagreb on 23 July. The meeting was initiated by the Croatian Presidency and the talks will focus on the current political and economic issues.

According to a statement issued today, these talks are in accordance with conclusions of the SFRY Assembly and endeavors of the State Presidency to find the most acceptable solutions for the joint life of nations and nationalities of our country, for questions of their future interrelations and constitutional order of Yugoslavia, and for the creation of conditions for overcoming the economic and political crisis in mutual and constructive talks with full respect for each other, and in mutual and common interests.

It is also stressed that the talks of the representatives of the two republics is in accordance with a practice of direct communication and with the sequence of the meetings thus far.

Tudjman, Piljak See Sovereign Republics

LD2307200790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1635 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina feel that relations in Yugoslavia must be organized on the basis of an accord of six sovereign and democratic Yugoslav republics, as it was set out in the talks held today between the delegations of the state leaderships of the two republics.

The two delegations to the talks were headed by Croatian State Presidency President Franjo Tudjman and his counterpart Obrad Piljak.

It was underscored in the talks that Croatia respects the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as an equal republic, and that it is interested in respect for the rights of the Croatians who live in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia-Hercegovina is predominantly populated by Moslems, who have the status of a nation, but Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats also live in it.

Today's talks between the state leadership of Croatia and Bosnia- Herzegovina were held at the initiative of Franjo Tudjman, Croatian Democratic Union. The Croatian Democratic Union has been severely criticized, especially in Bosnia-Herezegovina, because statements made by its leading officials have left the impression that some forces in Croatia have aspirations towards parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Macedonia, Montengro Talk, See 'Equal Nations'

LD2307201490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1333 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Macedonia and Montenegro believe that Yugoslavia should be a modern and democratic federation, a state community of equal nations and republics, with well developed democratic relations, and a chance to fully express their specific attributes.

This stance was put forward after the meeting today between the delegations of Macedonia and Montenegro in Skopje. The delegations were led by Vladimir Mitkov and Branko Kostic the presidents of two republics' Presidencies.

The representatives of the top bodies in the two republics spoke in favor of an open discussion on all the views expressed so far concerning the future of the Yugoslav state community.

Montenegro and Macedonia support the basic direction and content of the economic reform, as well as the proposals for changing the SFRY Constitution advocated by the Federal Executive Council. It was assessed that the proposals constitute a sound basis for overcoming the very negative situation in our society and for preserving Yugoslavia's integrity.

The future of the fund for underdeveloped areas was described as an issue of very great importance for the two republics. It was stated that all commitments to encourage the speedier development of underdeveloped areas must be carried out. Separate decisions by individual republics not to fulfil their commitments to the fund were assessed as totally unacceptable. The fund is a constitutional category which must be complied with consistently.

Additional Elections in Croatia Planned for Sep

LD2307201590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1622 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The Republican Electoral Commission informs all citizens and political organizations, as well as all citizens, of today's public statement by the Republican Electoral Commission that on 16 July the president of the [Crotian] Assembly adopted a decision on holding new, or rather, additional elections for representatives to the Croatian Assembly. In keeping with this, on 16 and 17 September of this year, new elections will be held to elect Assembly representatives for the following constituencies:

The 141st constituency of Brac, the 148th constituency of Krapina and the 151st constituency of Karlovac—for representatives in the Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor; and the constituency of Pazin—for representatives in the Chamber of Municipalities;

The sixth constituency of Podravska Slatina, the 32nd constituency of Zagreb-Dubrava-one, and the 33rd constituency of Zagreb-Dubrava-two—for representatives in the Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber.

Elections in the above-mentioned constituencies will be held on 16 September, except for representatives in the Assembly's Chamber of Associated Labor in the 141st constituency of Brac, which will be held on 17 September. [passage omitted]

Croat President, National Serbian Leader Meet

LD2307211990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, held talks today with Dr. Jovan Raskovic, chairman of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS], at the latter's personal request.

During an open and friendly meeting, issues of a democratic system and the development of Croatia were discussed, with special reference to problems of relations between the SDS and the legislative and executive authority in Croatia, public meetings of the Serbs in Croatia, the substance of the SDS leaders' statements during these meetings, and to the policial views of Dr Tudjman and Professor Raskovic on the possibility of peaceful and tolerant coexistence between the Croat and Serb peoples in Croatia. The need was stressed for all sensible people and citizens of Croatia to make an effort to foil the scenarios for the destabilization of democratic authority in Croatia.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman said that the Croat Constitution guarantees national and civic rights to the Serbs in Croatia and to all other citizens, but he pointed to the resolve of the new authority not to allow the territorial integrity of the Croat Republic to be violated, or democratic processes in the republic to be threatened.

Fuad Muhic Promotes Republican Party in Sarajevo

AU2107185190 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 90 p 5

[S. Numanovic report: "The Road to the West, Fear of the East"]

[Text] Having repeated several times that his speech was "absolutely spontaneous," professor Fuad Muhic yesterday officially began the first concrete action to set up his Republican Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina at the Holiday Inn in Sarajevo. Yesterday's meeting had been conceived as the place where the initiative committee for setting up this party would be chosen.

Europe Has Opened Up To Bosnia-Hercegovina

Professor Muhic did not say much or talk directly about the actual party. The emphasis of his almost hour-long speech to an audience of between 200 and 300 people—which included Dr. Davor Perinovic—was on stating that the survival of Bosnia-Hercegovina vitally depends on its links with the West, Slovenia, and Croatia and its strength to oppose attacks from the authoritarian eastern leadership. Right at the beginning of the speech, professor Muhic also mentioned his being called to account by the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Social Democratic Party, saying that the Party does not have the right to assess either his behavior or that of professor Muhamed Filipovic.

He then stressed that as a former ideologist of socialism, he does not renounce it in a public debate, but he also mentioned that this system is in no way a transitional road to communism but to a civil society. This society is already being approached by Croatia and Slovenia through which Europe has also opened up to Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to Muhic. "If this had not happened, I do not think that we would be speaking in such a free way today," he said.

Dr. Fuad Muhic devoted a large part of his speech to the "danger of the authoritarian system in the east of the country," which, according to him, is the link between the old form of bolshevism and nationalism and could thus lead to civil war which would after a month or two be knocking at the door of Bosnia-Hercegovina and "we in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not want that." He said that this regime cannot resolve the problem of Vojvodina,

Kosovo, or the Sandzak and proclaimed as illegal Serbia's suspension of the people's representatives of organs in Kosovo. Muhic then opposed the Kosovization of the Sandzak where, according to him, a deliberate campaign is being waged against the majority population. Muhic also stated the opinion that the democratic forces in Serbia should be supported, saying that Serbs had never been an authoritarian people but, rather, authoritarian regimes had been imposed on them.

"We Know Who the Terrorists Are"

Speaking about the problem of political emigrants, Dr. Muhic advocated—having started with the example of Croatia and Slovenia—that this category should be scrapped because, in his opinion, it is only characteristic of authoritarian regimes. He said that he "excludes" from his proposal those whose acts are subject to legal documents but who, in his opinion, are terrorists. "We know who the terrorists are." Muhic opposed the phenomenon according to which numerous Croats and Muslims abroad are suspected of being Ustashas while at home the Chetnik movement has been legalized and its representative, Vojislav Seselj, has openly proclaimed himself to be a Chetnik warlord.

At the end of his speech, stressing that he was speaking quite openly, Muhic said that he considered the Albanians to be a people since there are 2.5 million of them. The meeting was also addressed by Dr. Davor Perinovic, who stressed the desire for the Croatian Democratic Community to closely cooperate with Muhic's republican party in constructing a confederal Bosnia-Hercegovina. He also dealt with the law on citizens associations (article four) and the policy of the republic's leadership which is based on the principle of "divide and rule." Dr. Perinovic also spoke about the trial of a group of Muslims and expressed his disagreement with the explanation which he said he had recently heard that this trial was a "response" to the trial of Vojislav Seselj, saying that one Chetnik cannot be worth as much as 13 Muslims.

Montenegrin Communists' 'Amoral' Attitude Viewed

LD2307162290 Belgralde TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—In a press statement today the Movement for Unification between Serbia and Montenegro accuses "the existing communist authorities in Montenegro" of an amoral attitude to this movement, and condemns the "neo-communist regime in Serbia" for failing to take a stand toward it. According to the statement, Montenegro communists have been claiming that the movement's goal is to incorporate Montenegro into Serbia, and have therefore not allowed the movement's founding documents to be published in Montenegro.

The statement, which was signed by Milenko Ribic, chairman of the movement's Inter-Republican Assembly, notes that the movement was founded on 29 June in Belgrade, and that its founding Assembly was attended by 150 citizens. On 1 July an appeal was sent to the Assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro, calling on these two bodies to call a referendum on 26 November to decide on a merger of Serbia and Montenegro into a single state with the working name of "Serbia and Montenegro," and with Belgrade as its capital. This state would be one of the federal units within a democratic Yugoslavia.

Recently the movement's representatives sent an open letter to the president of the Montenegro LC Central Committee protesting at his public rejection of the proposal on merging Serbia and Montenegro from the rostrum of the first congress of the Socialist Party of Serbia.

Proportional Representation Draft Law Explained

LD2307163490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1239 GMT 23 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 23 Jul (TANJUG)—The number of deputies representing individual parties in the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities on Montenegro will be proportional to the number of votes obtained by these political organizations in the forthcoming general, direct, and secret elections. This is the so-called system of proportional representation, which has been proposed in the draft law on the election and recall of representatives and deputies as the principle of the division of mandates, concerning the details of which representatives of the Montenegrin Executive Council today briefed journalists. In the draft, therefore, the so-called majority principle, according to which only candidates who obtained the most votes would enter a future parliament, was not accepted, because it carries with it a big risk that the Assembly become a single party or two-party assembly.

The proposers of the law also decided that the basic constituency be the municipality, which, in their opinion, ensures uniform regional representation in the republican Assembly, something which is not guaranteed by a second proposal, which figured as an alternative and envisaged that the basic constituency be the republic as a whole. [passage omitted]